# The Lives of the Popes

B. Platina

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THE

# LIVES OF THE POPES

FROM THE

## ACCESSION OF GREGORY VII.

TO THE

## DEATH OF PAUL II.

WRITTEN ORIGINALLY IN LATIN

BY

B. PLATINA

NATIVE OF CREMONA

*AND TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH*

EDITED BY THE REV. W. BENHAM, B.D.; F.S.A.

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# INTRODUCTION.

THE period occupied in the present volume comprises some of the most momentous events of mediæval as well as Papal history.

The accession of Gregory VII. was an epoch of surpassing importance in the Roman Church In the previous volume it has been shown that the Papacy during the 10th century had been a very synonym for shameless abuses and corruption. The monk Hildebrand had striven with all the force of his powerful character and with strict conscientiousness, to reform the Church and put away the crimes which defiled it When, after really ruling the Church in a subordinate position for several years, he saw fit to allow himself to be elected Pope, as Gregory VII, much of the outward evil had been swept away. He now devoted himself with singleness of purpose to carry out his theory of what the Church should be. He taught the clergy what they must do if the authority of the Papacy was to be recognised, enforced Celibacy among them, abolished Simony, caused any cleric who accepted office from lay hands to be excommunicated. All this was in pursuit of his ideal, viz., the setting up of the See of Rome as the head of a Universal Theocracy, ruling all the nations as though Christ were visibly there enthroned. The ideal broke in pieces, as it was bound to do, considering that frail and erring man took upon him to exercise the functions of Omniscience

He found himself in a very short time in deadly conflict with he German Kaiser, Henry IV., Lord of the Holy Roman Empire. So far as personal character went, there was a vast difference between the two men—the Pope ascetic, austere, religious, the Emperor licentious and daring. And herein the Pope gained much advantage, but in reality the struggle was not between the men, but between principles, and public opinion discerned more or less clearly, that the claims put forth by the Pontiff were without Divine sanction, and hostile to the commonwealth of mankind. Platina, writing as a Roman Catholic, bears heavily upon Henry, and glosses over acts of Gregory which the after-history of the world has led it to condemn without stint. In the height of the battle neither side could claim the victory; it raged, and remained undecided long after Pope and Kaiser had gone to their graves. Among the other nations the same contest was being waged. William I. in England repudiated the claims of Gregory not less emphatically than Henry had done, but his insular position was altogether different from that of the German monarch, whose interests and rights in Germany and Italy were in collision with those of the Papal See continually. The quarrels concerning Investiture ended in a victory for the Papacy, nominal indeed so far as words went, but the organization of the Church made it more real and strong year after year.

The rise of the Crusades did much for a while to further the claims which Pope Gregory had put forward. All Europe engaging in a holy war needed a centre of Unity. It was found in Rome. The first Crusade (1095) was decided upon at the Councils of Placentia and Clermont, Pope Urban II. blessing it and encouraging it with promises of plenary indulgences, while the people cried with enthusiasm, "God wills

it!" This Crusade was the only one of them all which had any success. After a horde of disorganized men, women, and children, to the number of 300,000, had gone away with eager hearts, and had perished in Bulgaria, a regular army of 700,000, under Godfrey of Bouillon, Hugh, the two Roberts of Normandy and Flanders, Tancred, and others, took Nice in 1097, Antioch in 1098, and stormed Jerusalem July 15, 1099 Godfrey refused to accept the title of King of Jerusalem, but it was afterwards taken by Baldwin, and Palestine became for a while a European colony. But too speedily came ill-blood between the King and the Patriarchs of Jerusalem. The second Crusade (1147), preached by the great St Bernard, was led by Conrad of Germany and Louis VII. of France. It achieved no success, and cost Europe 200,000 men. In 1187 Saladin reconquered Jerusalem to the Mahomedans. Pope Gregory VIII. called Europe to arms, and the German Emperor Frederick, Philip of France, and Richard of England responded to the call. Acre was captured, but not Jerusalem, and the European armies were annihilated. The result of all this was to weaken Feudalism in Europe, and Feudalism had been a foe to Papal autocracy, but the same influence which had impoverished the great Barons by wasting their estates in the war, had thereby strengthened commerce and the power of the towns, and had thus raised a fresh and a stronger barrier against the Papal pretensions. There were other influences working in the same direction, though silently, and no one saw how vast their power would prove to be. One was the rise of a popular literature in the native languages (the Minnesingers and Troubadours), another was that of the protesting parties in the Church, Paulicians, Waldenses, &c.

Meanwhile the development of the Papacy in the South was aided by the Norman Monarchy of Sicily, established as a fief of the Papacy by Pope Adrian II. (1098), and used to counteract the imperial power in Italy. It must not, however, be overlooked that the latter was invoked by the Popes, whenever they found it necessary, to control the Normans. The codification of the Canon Law (*circa* 1150) under the domination of the Papal idea went beyond even the Pseudo-Isidorian positions; all bishops are only vicars of the Pope, and all *causæ majores* are to be brought before the Papal tribunals The Latin ritual was everywhere introduced.

Another salient characteristic of the Middle Ages comes out in bold relief; the conduct of all movements in organised masses was shown not only in the concentration of the Imperial and Papal powers and in the Crusades, but in the strong development of Monasticism. In the Scholastic theology, Christian theology took a new form—traditional dogmas were reduced to a scientific unity by the aid of a revived dialectic. The first period of Scholasticism (1073-1200) had Paris for its chief seat, by far the greatest name in this period was Anselm, the founder of realism. Peter Abelard (*b.* 1079, *d.* 1141) contended for the Understanding against the supremacy of Faith, and entered into controversy with the great St Bernard, mystical supernaturalist (*d* 1153). Scholasticism was deficient in Scriptural Exegesis, and also in Ecclesiastical History, but it moulded the received religious opinions into such unity as it had never before attained, combining Aristotelian metaphysics and logical forms with the decrees of Christian councils.

The age of Pope Innocent III. opens a new chapter in the contest for supremacy between the Papal and Secular powers.

Thus far the result had been an equipoise between Rome on one side, and Germany, France, and England on the other. The juncture had now come when the Theocracy was, if ever, to realise its aspirations. Pope Innocent was learned, daring, skilful, powerful. Never has man, before or since, wielded such power in both Church and State as he did. Kings ruled by his permission; the King of England laid his crown at his feet, and promised him yearly tribute; the King of France was but little behind him in humiliation. Platina, however, passes over this portion of Innocent's career. The Latin conquest of Constantinople opened the gates of the East to his spiritual ambition, and the Lateran Council of 1215 seemed to set the corner-stone upon the edifice of his unlimited power. And yet it broke in pieces after all, and the beginning of the disintegration was the great conflict with the Hohenstaufens, the powerful dynasty of the House of Suabia which ruled the Holy Roman Empire from 1138 to 1254.

Pope Innocent claimed supremacy for the Church in civil matters. In 1210 he deposed Otto IV. In 1239 Gregory IX., and in 1245 Innocent IV., absolved the subjects of Frederick II. from their allegiance. In 1302 Pope Boniface VIII. put his claims in more daring fashion than any of his predecessors by his Bull *Unam Sanctam*, against Philip IV. of France. The establishment of the Inquisition, at first against the Albigenses, but afterwards against other sects, was part of the same policy. But the rapid growth of the many sects showed that Rome was losing her hold of the masses. The rise of the new Mendicant Orders, especially the Franciscans and Dominicans, was an attempt to prevent this disintegration by giving the Papacy a hold upon the education of the people, and by drawing them away from the sects.

The Crusades lingered on through the thirteenth century, but they had now become an attempt to subdue the Greek Empire and Church rather than the Moslems. The attempt was in part revenged by the Mogul invasion of Zenghis Khan and by that of Tamerlane. These irruptions thrust forward the Ottoman Turks, who effected a lodgment in Europe, and in the middle of the fifteenth century captured Constantinople, and destroyed the ancient Christian empire there.

The Crusades had thus failed, they had promoted knightly daring and chivalry; but it was largely through their influence that devotion to Mary took the place of devotion to Christ. But, as we have already seen, they broke feudalism, promoted commerce, and the sense of independence. They stimulated popular literature, and by bringing to the West some of the treasures of Oriental learning, were not without effect in promoting the Reformation of the sixteenth century.

In the second period of Scholasticism (1200-1300) we note the names of Alexander Hales, the first Franciscan at the Sorbonne in Paris; of Cardinal Bonaventura, general of the Franciscans and teacher in Paris (*d.* 1274), to whom is ascribed the *Biblia Pauperum*, of Albertus Magnus, a Suabian noble, Provincial of the Dominicans, Bishop of Ratisbon (*d.* 1280), of his pupil, Thomas Aquinas, the greatest of the Schoolmen (*d.* 1274); and of Johannes Duns Scotus, who taught at Oxford and Paris, and died 1308. From this time the schools were divided into Thomists and Scotists, after the two last-named; the former realists, the latter nominalists. The greatest names in the third period (fourteenth century) are William of Ockham, Thomas Bradwardine (Archbishop of Canterbury), and Nicolas de Lyra.

But a new power had begun to work. The preaching of

Wycliffe, the contemplative theology of the Mystics, the great poem of Dante, were but symptoms of the deep dissatisfaction which was filling all hearts at the sight of the mechanical religion which had taken the place of the living Gospel.

In the fierce struggle between the Popes and the Hohenstaufen emperors, the latter had fallen to utter ruin. The last of them, Conradin, a boy of sixteen, had perished on the scaffold. But the wickedness of the whole proceeding cost the Papacy dear. When the struggle was over, it was found that Rome too was so exhausted, that the Popes sank at once to vassalage to the kings of France. The hapless Conradin was terribly avenged by the Sicilian Vespers (1282). In 1305 Pope Clement V., under command of Philip IV of France, moved the Papal Court to Avignon, and in this exile it remained for seventy years, and during that time its shameless dissoluteness and corruption became a byword and a hissing to all Europe. Petrarch wrote, "*Veritas ibi dementia est, peccandi licentia magnanimitas et libertas eximia. Stupra, incestus, adulteria, pontificalis lasciviæ ludi sunt.*" Meanwhile Italy remained subject to the strife of factions, amidst which Rienzi achieved a lasting fame, and a new and splendid literature arose.

When at length the "Seventy Years' Captivity" came to an end, and the Popes returned to Rome, a yet more grievous calamity fell on the Roman Church in the great Schism. This arose originally thus:—The Popes at Avignon had filled the conclave with Frenchmen as cardinals. When the Papacy became vacant in 1378, the Roman citizens crowded to the Conclave and imperiously demanded that an Italian, not a Frenchman, should be elected to the vacant chair. The cardinals for a while held out, being

desirous of selecting one of their own nationality; but through terror they at length yielded and elected the Archbishop of Bari as Urban VI. This was in April 1378. But he set to work with such vigour to reform abuses, and to humble the obnoxious cardinals, that in the following September fifteen out of the sixteen who had elected him, declaring that the election was void, as having been forced on them by violence, elected Robert, Cardinal Cevennes, who took the title of Clement VII. France, Spain, Scotland, and Sicily recognised him as Pope, and thus Christendom was fiercely divided. The schism lasted until 1429, and was one chief cause of the great councils which were now resumed, and by which it was hoped that the crying evils which all men saw and confessed in the Church might be done away. At the Council of Pisa in 1409, both the reigning Popes (Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII.) were deposed, and Alexander V. was chosen, but as the two deposed pontiffs would not resign their pretensions, there were now three heads of the Church, and there was no master spirit like Hildebrand's to bring strength out of weakness. The Council of Constance (1414) was another attempt. It deposed and imprisoned Pope John XXIII., and as a set-off to prove its orthodoxy caused John Huss to be burned. There was then for a while one head, the rival Popes having submitted, but after the Council of Basle in 1431, the schism broke out again. It came to an end under Nicholas V., and so far the present volume ends in a time of unity. But it was even now evident that serious events were at hand. Intolerable exactions drained the gold from all European states; Simony had become a system; by the traffic in Indulgences the pardon of sin was practically obtained for money. St Bridget declared that at Rome the whole Decalogue was abridged into

one precept, "Give gold." The great reforming Councils of Constance and Basle, though they failed to carry the reforms, proved, in the sight of all men, that the evils existed to a degree that was appalling. At the head of the party which desired to remove them was the Church of France, but the Curia proved too strong for it. Æneas Silvius declared himself on the Gallican side till he became Pope Pius II.; then he renounced it, and declared that "where the Pope is, there is the council." At the Council of Mantua he procured the prohibition of appeal from the Pope to a council; and the decrees of Constance and Basle, as to the election of cardinals, were practically ignored. A solemn conviction took possession of earnest men's minds that the reform which could not be effected through the Papacy must be effected in spite of the Papacy. Wycliffe, in England, and Huss, in Prague, appealed from the Pope to Christ, and from tradition to the Scripture, and were slowly responded to by the general conscience Martyrdoms and persecutions could not stop the movement. The discovery of printing was a mighty instrument for the acceleration of it.

The Council of Florence, 1439, was a continuation of that of Basle, and claims mention as a memento of the great event which was threatening the East. The Greek Empire was ready to perish before the invading hosts of the Turks, and a hope was entertained that the reunion of the Eastern Church with the West might stave off the calamity. Thirty Greek dignitaries attended, and articles of reunion were framed, but without avail. The attempt even led to a schism within the Greek Church itself. The fate of the Greek Empire was decided, when in 1453 Constantinople fell before the Turks. It was not the only calamity which was impending over Europe

The terrible Hussite war, beginning in 1420 and lasting nearly sixty years, desolated Bohemia, and destroyed a noble nation. The period covered by our volume thus closes in heavy clouds. In the next we shall see how the storm breaks.

# The Lives of the Popes.

## GREGORY VII.

1073-1085.

GREGORY the Seventh, formerly called Hildebrand, a Florentine of Soane, whose father's name was Bonicius, was chosen Pope by consent of all good men. The words of the election are these: "We, the cardinals, clerks, acolytes, sub-deacons, and priests, with the bishops, abbots, and many others, both of the laity and clergy, do choose this day (April 22, at the Church of St Peter in Chains, in the year 1073), as Christ's true vicar, Archdeacon Hildebrand, a man of much learning, piety, prudence, justice, constancy, religion, modesty, sobriety, and continency; who governs his family very well, is hospitable to the poor, having been ingenuously brought up in the bosom of our holy mother the Church, whom we think fit to govern the Church with the same authority as St Peter, by God's commandment, formerly did." And when he had gotten the popedom, he immediately admonished Henry, the emperor, that he should not, for the time to come, take any bribes, and sell bishoprics or benefices in a simoniacal manner; for, if he did, he and those that bought them should suffer the severity of ecclesiastical censures. But Henry was so far from obeying his admonitions, though they were very grave, that he deprived Agnes, the empress, of all her share in the government for telling him soberly what ought to be done in point of religion. And she upon that went to Rome, where she lived not long ere she died for grief. At last, after many embassies to and fro, the emperor and Gregory were recon-

ciled, and Gregory was by him confirmed in his pontificate, as then it was the custom for emperors to do. But when Henry, who was fickle in good and obstinate in ill resolutions, persisted in his simony, though often admonished, the Pope laid an anathema upon all those who had gained bishoprics and benefices by bribery. And that he might not seem to have done it in a heat, he called a council in the Lateran [1074], at which many bishops were present, particularly Gilbert, Archbishop of Parma, born at Ravenna, where he gave a reason why he laid such censures upon simoniacs, and said he would do the same to the emperor, unless he altered his mind. Gilbert, when the council was dismissed, having gotten a fair occasion to accuse Gregory, and withal being ambitious of the popedom, incensed Cencius, a Roman citizen (son to Stephen, who was governor of the city), no less rash than seditious against the Pope; and promised him great things in the emperor's name if he would do as he would have him. Thereupon Cencius laid wait for the Pope, and whilst he was saying mass upon Christmas day at midnight in St Maries the Great, he broke in upon him with others of his gang, took him as he was just administering the Eucharist, haled him away, and shut him up in a well-fortified tower. The next day the people of Rome, when they knew of it, took up arms against Cencius, set the Pope at liberty, demolished his house and the tower, and expelled all his family out of the city with their noses cut. But Cencius himself, who was the author of all that roguery, escaped, and got through by-ways to the emperor in Germany. Gilbert, who was the contriver of that stratagem, seeing his design frustrated, dissembling his enmity to him, got leave of the Pope to retire to Ravenna, meaning there to set on foot much worse intrigues. For he induced Theobald, Archbishop of Milan, and many other prelates of Lombardy, to conspire against Gregory; besides Hugo Candidus, a cardinal, who, though he had done the same before, and was reconciled too, yet at this time he seemed to be ill-affected, for he endeavoured all he could to instigate the emperor and the Normans, who were at variance about the empire, to make a peace with one another and join against the Pope; which, when Gregory understood, he called a synod in the Lateran, and giving his reason for so doing, deprived Gilbert and Hugo of their dignities and laid a curse upon them. Whilst these things were transacted at

Rome, Henry, who had fought with his enemies, the Saxons, very successfully, was so puffed up with his good fortune, that he called an assembly at Worms, at which Sigifred, archbishop of Mentz, was president, where he was so bold as to prohibit all people from obeying the Pope in any case whatever. And from that assembly came Rolandus, a clerk of Parma, by Henry's order, to Rome, where he publicly interdicted Gregory from doing anything for the future that belonged to the office of a Pope, commanding the cardinals to leave Gregory and come to him, for they were like to have another Pope. Gregory, not able to endure such an affront upon God and the Church, deprived Sigified, and the rest of the clergy that took Henry's part, of all their dignities and preferments, and likewise laid a curse upon the emperor himself, after he had degraded him from his imperial honour. And of this degradation or deprivation the form was as followeth. "Blessed Peter! prince of the Apostles! I beseech thee hearken unto me, and hear thy servant, whom thou hast educated from my infancy, and preserved to this day from the hands of wicked men, that hate and persecute me for the faith I have in thee. Thou art my best witness, thou and the holy mother of Jesus Christ, together with Paul, thy fellow-martyr, that I did not enter upon the papacy without reluctance, not that I thought it robbery lawfully to rise into thy chair, but I was more willing to spend my days in pilgrimage, than at that time to supply thy place for ostentation and vain glory. I must needs confess that it was thy goodness and not my deserts that brought me to the cure of Christendom, and gave me the power of loosing and binding; and therefore in confidence of that, and for the honour and safety of the Church, I do deprive King Henry, son to Henry who was formerly emperor, of all imperial power, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, for that he so boldly and rashly laid violent hands upon thy Church: and I absolve all his Christian subjects from their oaths, that bind them to pay allegiance to true and lawful kings. For it is fit that he should lose his honour who would diminish the honour of the Church. And furthermore, because he has contemned mine (or rather thy) admonitions concerning his own and his people's salvation, and separated himself from the Church of God, which he would fain destroy, I set him under a curse, as being well assured that thou art Peter, upon whose rock, as a true foundation, Christ Jesus, our King, has

built His Church." There were at that time a great many that talked of peace when the execration was past: to whom Gregory made answer that he did not refuse conditions of peace, if Henry would first make his peace with God. You, said he, must needs know, what injury he has done the Church, and how often I have admonished him to reform his life and conversation And this I did in respect to Henry's father's memory, who was my very good friend, but to no purpose, he having entertained principles quite contrary to his father's. Nevertheless some of those that were present continued to urge him, and persuade him that a king ought not to have been anathematized so hastily. To whom the Pope replied: When, said he, Christ committed His Church to Peter and said "Feed My sheep," did he except kings? No, when he gave Peter the power to bind and loose, he excepted none, nor exempted any man from his authority. Wherefore he that says, he cannot be bound by the Church's power, must needs confess he cannot any more be absolved by it: now, whosoever is so impudent as to affirm this, makes himself a perfect separatist from Christ and His Church. When Henry heard what Gregory had done, he wrote many letters to several nations, complaining that he was condemned by the Pope against all law and reason. And Gregory, on the other hand, demonstrated not only by words and letters, but also by reason and witnesses in the face of the world, that he had done nothing but what was just and right. But in the meantime part of the kingdom revolted from Henry, and the Saxons prepared for a war against him · upon which the German princes, fearing some misfortune might befall their country, decreed in a public assembly, that if Gregory would come into Germany, Henry should humbly beg his pardon: and the King swore he would do it. Thereupon the Pope, who was induced by the promises and prayers of the Archbishop of Treves, Henry's ambassador, was going on his journey toward Augsburg, but when he came to Vercelli was privately informed by the bishop of that place, who is chancellor of all Italy, that Henry was coming against him with an army. At which the Pope forbore to go any further, but went to Canossa, a town near Rheggio, under the Countess Matilda. Henry also made thither as fast as he could with his whole army, and, laying aside his regal habit, he went barefoot to the gate of the town (to move the townsmen's pity) and desired to be let in. But he was denied entrance, and

took it very patiently, or at least seemed so to do, though it were a sharp winter, and all things bound up in frost. Notwithstanding he tarried in the suburbs three days, and begged pardon continually, till at last, by the intercession of Matilda, and Adelaus, an Earl of Savoy, together with the Abbot of Clugny, he was introduced, absolved, and reconciled to the Church, having sworn to a peace, and promised future obedience. The form of the King's oath was this: "I, King Henry, do affirm that I will keep all the conditions and engagements that are in the peace, which our Lord, Gregory the Seventh, has drawn up according to his mind; and will take care that the said Pope shall go where he pleases without the least molestation either to him or his attendants, especially through all our dominions, and that I will be no hindrance to him in the exercise of his pontifical authority in any place whatsoever; and this I swear I will observe. Done at Canossa, January the 28th. Indiction the 15th." But when he had succeeded according to his wish, and all people were gone to their several homes, Henry moved toward Pavia, but lost Cencius by the way, who died of a fever; and yet Henry (though that villain was gone) did not desist from innovation. For he broke the peace, and thereby vexed the German princes to such a degree, that they declared Rodolphus, Duke of Saxony, king, and rejected Henry. That moved Henry to petition the Pope, that he would dispossess Rodolphus of the kingdom by excommunication. But seeing he could not obtain so great a favour, he betook himself to his arms, and engaged him in a bloody battle, where the victory was uncertain on both sides. And then they each sent ambassadors to the Pope, to beg of him that he would assist them, to which he made no other answer, but that he would have them quit their arms. But, notwithstanding, Henry and Rodolphus fought a second time without any odds · and therefore when they had engaged the third time, and killed a great many men on both sides, Henry (who seemed to have a little the better of it) would not hear Rodolphus's ambassadors that came to him for peace, but wrote to the Pope again, that he would please to anathematize Rodolphus, who endeavoured to get possession of his kingdom Which Gregory refusing to do, Henry was so angry, that he studied day and night to ruin the Pope. In the meanwhile, lest sedition should be wanting in Christendom, Michael, and Andronicus, his son, who had

been by force deprived of the empire of Constantinople by Nicephorus Botoniates, came for refuge to Gregory, who not only excommunicated Nicephorus, but employed Rogerius, a feudatory of the Roman Church, to restore Michael, with whom he discoursed at Ceperano, to the empire. In pursuance of which command he got a navy, and leaving his younger son Rogerius in Italy, he took Boemund, his other son, along with him, and sailed first to Valona, but pitched his camp near Durazzo, resolving to make sure of that city which was so convenient for the carrying on of the war. But Dominic Sylvius, Duke of Venice, who was of Nicephorus's party, beat Rogerius from the siege, with great loss on both sides. But not long after Nicephorus was betrayed by Alexius Mega, general of his forces, and made a prisoner, the city being given up for three days to be plundered by the soldiers, according to compact. Nicephorus himself was taken in the Church of Sancta Sophia, but his life spared upon condition that he would take upon him the habit of a monk for as long as he lived. Gregory seeing that Henry was incited against the Church by some seditious bishops, called a great synod, and forbade Gilbert, Archbishop of Ravenna (for his pride and malice), the exercise of his episcopal or priestly function, under pain of an anathema or curse. For when he was summoned to appear before the see apostolic, being conscious of his crimes he would not obey the citation, for which alone he deserved the penalty of an anathema. He likewise censured Roland of Treviso, for that when he was legate, in order to a peace between him and Henry, he sowed the seeds of discord and not unity, to get a bishopric by the bargain. Nor did he spare Hugo, Cardinal of St Clements, who had seditiously and heretically conspired with Cadolus, Bishop of Parma. In fine, he chose three at the same assembly, to wit, Bernard the Deacon, the other Bernard, Abbot of Marseilles, and Odo, Archbishop of Treves, to go legates *à Latere* from the see apostolic to compose all differences between Henry and Rodolphus. For the wise Pope saw that such a quarrel, unless it were timely ended, would occasion great calamities one time or other to Christendom. But because he well knew that there would not be lacking such mischievous men as would endeavour to hinder it (because it was their interest to foment rather than remove the dissension), he gave the legates letters apostolical to the several

princes and states, written after this manner: "We, taking notice of the weakness, covetousness, and ambition of mankind, do charge all manner of persons, whether kings, archbishops, bishops, dukes, counts, marquesses, or knights, that either out of pride, cunning, or covetousness, they give no hindrance to our legates whilst they negotiate the peace. And whosoever shall be so rash as to contravene this order, (which I hope none will), and shall hinder our legates from composing a peace, I bind him under an anathema, both in spirituals and temporals, by apostolic power; and take away from him the advantage of any victory he has gained, that he may at least be confounded and be converted by a double penance." He likewise commanded the legates to call a diet in Germany, and deliberately examine who of the two kings had the right, and accordingly by the consent of all good men to assign him the kingdom, whose cause was the more just: and that he, when he should hear what they had determined, would confirm it by the authority of God and St Peter, than which there cannot be greater. But, in the meanwhile, Gregory, lest the Church of Rome should suffer by simony, called a council, and therein confirmed the decrees of his predecessors made to put a stop to that evil, in these words. "We, following the example of our predecessors, as we have formerly in other councils, do decree and ordain by the authority of Almighty God, that whoever for the future accepts of a bishopric, an abbacy, or any other ecclesiastical preferment from a layman, shall not by any means be esteemed a bishop, an abbot, or a clergyman; nor let the same person dare to approach the apostolical see, before he has repented and left the place that he gained by ambition and contumacy, which is the sin of idolatry. And under the same censures we bind kings, dukes, and princes, who shall dare to confer bishoprics or other ecclesiastical dignities upon any person against law and reason. Furthermore, we confirm the sentence of anathema which was justly given against Theobald, Archbishop of Milan, and Gilbert, Archbishop of Ravenna, as also against Roland, Archbishop of Treviso; and we lay the same censure upon Peter, who was formerly Bishop of Redona, but is now an usurper in the church of Narbonne. Moreover, we deny St Peter's favour, and entrance into the Church to all such, till they have repented and satisfied for their offences; be they Normans, Italians, or any other nation, who have in the least

injured, or violated the Marcha di Termo, in Ancona, the Duchy of Spoleto, Campagna di Roma, Sabina, Tivoli, Palestrina, Frascati, or Alba, or the parts that lie toward the Tuscan Sea. Add to these the Monastery of St Benedict, and all the country of Cassino, as also Benevent in Abruzzo. But if any one pretends a just cause for taking what he has not yet restored, let him demand justice of us or our officers; and if they are not satisfied, we grant them leave to take back as much as will satisfy them; not excessively, like robbers, but as becomes Christians, and such men who only retake what is their own and desire not other men's goods; fearing the anger of God and the curse of St Peter." After that he confirmed the curse against Henry afresh in these words. "Blessed Peter! and thou Paul, doctor of the Gentiles, I beseech you to hearken unto me a little, and hear me in mercy, for you are disciples and lovers of truth, and what I say is true. I undertake this cause for truth's sake, that my brethren, whose salvation I desire, may obey me more willingly, and that they may know how I rely upon your assistance, next to that of Christ and His Virgin Mother, whilst I resist the wicked, and am a present guard continually to the faithful. For I did not ascend this see willingly, but against my inclinations, even with tears in my eyes, that they should think such a worthless man as me fit to sit in such a lofty throne. But this I say, because I did not choose you, but you me, and imposed this heavy burden upon my shoulders. But the sons of Belial are risen up against me since I have ascended the mount, because I cry aloud and tell the people of their crimes, and the sons of the Church of their sins, and have laid violent hands upon me even unto blood. For the kings of the earth stood up, and the princes of the world, with some ecclesiastics and others have conspired against the Lord, and me his anointed; saying, Let us break their bonds asunder, and cast their yoke from us, and this they did, that they might either kill or banish me. Of these, one was King Henry, as they call him: Henry, I say, son to Henry the emperor, who exalted his horns, and lifted up his heel too proudly against the Church of God, in a conspiracy with many bishops of Italy, Germany, and France, whose ambition your authority has yet opposed. This same person came to me in Lombardy, when he was rather forced by necessity than sober in his resolutions, and begged to be absolved from his anathema: and accordingly I

received him, because I thought him a penitent; but only admitted him to the communion of the Church, not restored him to his kingdom from which I had justly expelled him in the council at Rome; nor did I give the subjects of the kingdom leave to pay him their former allegiance. And this I did, that if he delayed his reconcilement with the neighbouring nations whom he had always vexed, and should refuse to restore as well ecclesiastical as secular estates, according to his word, he might be forced to his duty by anathemas and arms. Some bishops of Germany made use of this opportunity, as also certain princes who had been long tormented by this wild beast, thought fit to choose Rodolphus for their king and governor, since Henry had lost his throne by his flagitious actions. And truly Rodolphus, like a modest and just king, sent ambassadors to let me know he was forced to take the government into his hand, though he was not so desirous of dominion, but that he would rather obey us than those that had chosen him to the kingdom. That he would always be at God's and our disposal, and that we might believe him, he offered his sons for hostages for his performance. Thereupon Henry began to rage, and first to desire us, that we would use our spiritual sword to depose Rodolphus. I answered him, that I would see who had most right, and would send agents thither to examine the matter, and then I myself would judge whose cause was the more just. Henry would not suffer our legates to determine the matter, but killed a great many men both ecclesiastical and laic, plundered and profaned churches, and by this means made himself obnoxious to an anathema. Wherefore I, trusting in God's mercy and judgment, in the patronage of the blessed Virgin, and relying upon your authority, do lay Henry and his accomplices under a curse; and once more deprive him of his regal power, interdicting all Christians (whom I absolve from all oaths of allegiance to him) from obeying Henry in any case whatever; but command them to receive Rodolphus as their king, whom many princes of the realm have chosen, since Henry was deposed. For it is fit, that seeing Henry is deprived of his power for his pride and contumacy, Rodolphus, who is beloved by all, should be invested with the kingly power and dignity, for his piety and religion. Go to, then, ye princes of the holy apostles, and confirm what I have said by your authority, that all men at last may know, that if

you can bind and loose in heaven, that we also upon earth can take away and give kingdoms, principalities, empires, and whatsoever is in the possession of mortals. For if you can judge of things divine, what may we think of things profane here below? And if you may judge of angels that govern proud princes, what may you not do to their servants? Let all kings and princes of the world take notice by his example what you can do in heaven; how God esteems you, and then let them not contemn the decrees of the Church. And I beseech you suddenly to execute judgment upon Henry, that all may see that son of iniquity did not lose his kingdom by chance, but by your permission and consent. And this I have requested of you, that he may repent, and be saved in the day of judgment by the help of your prayers. Given at Rome the 5th of March, Indiction III." After that he degraded Gilbert (the author of all this discord and schism) from the church of Ravenna, and commanded all priests belonging to that church to pay no obedience to him, who was the cause of all their misfortunes, and therefore anathematized. And that the people might not want a governor, he imitated Peter (who used to send Apollinaris in his own room, upon occasion), and sent them another archbishop, with full power, to extirpate Gilbert's faction and confirm men's minds in the faith. But then Henry (who was rather provoked than chastised by these censures, and had taken the Bishop of Ostia, then legate, as he returned home) called a council of the disaffected bishops, and chose Gilbert, formerly Archbishop of Ravenna, Pope, and called him Clement. But being teased by the Saxons, he left his new Pope for a time, and went against them, where he engaged and received a great overthrow. Rodolphus, though he was conqueror, yet was found dead at a little distance, of a wound which he received. They say Henry was so affrighted at that bloody engagement, that he could scarce be found in seventeen days, and that the Germans in the meantime had put his son Henry in his room by the name of Henry IV. Both these coming after with an united body of men into Italy to settle their Pope Clement in the pontificate, and to turn out Gregory, they easily subdued Maude, who came to meet them with a small army. This same Maude, when her first husband died, not long before that time, was married to Azo, Marquis d'Este, her former husband's near kinsman by blood, and related to

her in the third degree of affinity. But when the matter was known, she was divorced from Azo, at Gregory's persuasion. Henry having conquered Maude at Parma, marched to Rome, with her husband Azo, after a hostile manner, and pitched his camp in the Prati di Nerone, and going into the Borgo di Sancto Pietro, he and his Pope Clement profaned St Peter's Church, and demolished the portico, and did the like by St Paul's. But seeing he could not get into the city, he went to Tivoli, from whence as from a castle he made daily incursions upon the Romans, till by wasting all that came near him, he reduced them to such necessity that they desired peace upon any terms, of which notice being given to Henry by some deserters who got out of the town, he drew his men up and entered in; whereupon the Pope, who could not trust the people, betook himself into the Castle St Angelo, where he was besieged for some time, they within maintaining the place stoutly. Gregory's nephew had not the like fortune, who retreated to the Sittizonio di Severo, and wanting courage to defend it, basely delivered it up. But Henry, hearing that Guiscard, Duke of Apulia, was coming to assist Gregory, he thought it no time to dally, and therefore contrived this stratagem He sent the Bishop of Clugny to Gregory in the castle, to offer him, that if he would crown him in the Lateran, he would return into Germany with his army immediately; and the Roman people requested him to do it too. Gregory answered he would do it if Henry would amend his errors and beg pardon. This he not only refused to do, but hearing that Guiscard was near with his army, he crowned Clement the anti-Pope with the pontifical crown publicly in the Lateran, the bishops of Bologna, of Cervia and Modena, attending at the solemnity. After which he went to Siena and took Clement along with him. But Guiscard, breaking in at the Porta del Popolo, burnt the city all along to Domitian's Triumphal Arch, though the people did what they could to resist him. The citizens had fortified the Capitol, and defended themselves briskly against Guiscard, who had already taken the Lateran; from whence there were a great many skirmishes and sallies made on both sides, and that part of the city which lies between the Lateran and the Capitol was demolished, and the Capitol itself at length taken by storm and laid almost even with the ground. Having thus made himself master of Rome, and given the citizen's goods as plunder to his soldiers,

he marched to Castle St Angelo, where the Pope lay besieged, and freeing the miserable man at last from all his foes, he carried him along to Cassino and Salerno with him, where in a short time after he made a godly exit, after he had sate in St Peter's chair twelve years, one month, and three days. He was a man, no question, that God loved; prudent, just, merciful, a patron of the poor, the widows, and the fatherless, and the only champion of the Church against heretics and wicked princes, who strove to make themselves masters of the Church's patrimony by violence.

## VICTOR III.

### 1086-1087

VICTOR the Third, before called Desiderius, Abbot of Mount Cassino, being chosen Pope [and forced altogether against his will to accept the dignity], immediately took example by Gregory. [Guibert was still reigning as anti-Pope.] And therefore I suppose it was that Henry and he were enemies, by whose contrivance he was taken off with poison, conveyed into the chalice as he was administering the Eucharist * (as St Martin writes), though Vincentius says, on the contrary, that he died of a dysentery, which may possibly seem not altogether unlike poisoning, since those that are poisoned do sometimes fall into a dysentery by the corruption and relaxation of the intestines. But Guiscard would have revenged so great a villany, if he had not chanced to die too soon; for when he had subdued the Greeks, he went to Corfu and died; to whom (because Boemund was absent) Roger his younger son succeeded in the Duchy of Apulia. At that time there was a famine throughout most part of the world, by means whereof the King of Gallicia took Toledo from the Saracens after he had besieged it many years, and gave it to the Christians. But Henry had ill success against the Saxons in Germany, being defeated with the loss of four thousand soldiers, God permitting this calamity, that he might at last desist from harassing the Church. There are who say that there appeared

* [This is a statement of later writers for which there seems no foundation.—Ed.]

a great many prodigies at that time; as, that the domestic birds, as hens, geese, pigeons, and peacocks fled into the mountains and grew wild; that fishes in general, both in rivers and in the sea, died, and that some cities were so shaken with earthquakes, that the great church at Syracuse fell down at vespers and killed all those that were in it, saving only the deacon and sub-deacon, who were miraculously saved. It is said the body of St Nicolas was translated to Bari by the merchants about this time, and there much honoured, as Martin Scotus, a man of great learning and singular morals, tells us in his history. But Victor, by whose procurement Deusdedit reduced the book of canons into method, died in the first year and fourth month of his pontificate, not without suspicion of being poisoned.

## URBAN II.

1088-1099.

URBAN the Second, before called Otho, or Oddo, at first a monk of Eboina, and after that Cardinal of Ostia, was at last deservedly made Pope about five months after Victor's death. For he was a very learned and a holy man, and fit for any great employment. At that time Roger took his opportunity (now Gregory was dead and a new successor come into the place) to take Capua and all places that belonged to them betwixt that and the Tiber, from the Pope and the Romans. Thereupon Urban, who could hardly trust the Romans, by reason of their former inclinations to novelty, went to Amalfi, where being resolved to call a synod, it was convenient to secure all people in their passage to it; and therefore he commanded Roger and Boemund, who were at variance about the Duchy of Apulia, to quit their arms, upon this condition, that Roger should let Boemund have part of Apulia, and himself enjoy all the rest of his father's dominion And when he had thus settled the Italian affairs to his mind, and put the Church in a good condition (as far as was possible in such a hurry), he went to Troia, to inquire what the clergy of that place did, and to correct the errors of some ill-livers among them. But in the meantime, Boemund, whilst his brother Roger made

war in Sicily against the Saracens, took Amalfi by surprise. Whereupon Roger, returning from Sicily, besieged his brother Boemund at Amalfi with twenty thousand Saracens which he hired to come along with him, though those within the city defended it very stoutly. The Pope, seeing he could have no quiet in Italy, designed a journey into France, but first held a council at Piacenza, in which he wonderfully curbed the licentiousness of some clergymen From thence he went into France, and began a thing very memorable. For he called a council at Clermont, wherein he so far animated the princes of France toward the retaking of Jerusalem. which had been so long in the hands of the Saracens, that in the year 1094 three hundred thousand men enrolled themselves as soldiers under Christ's banner. After which he returned to Rome, with an intention, that when he had composed things in Italy, he would excite the Italians also to the same end. In the meantime King Henry, wicked man, ceased not to affront Robert, Earl of Flanders, and provoke him to battle, that he might divert him from the holy expedition [The emperor had not ceased in his warfare against the Pope, and now he was embittered far beyond anything which he had ever been before by the sudden rebellion of his favourite son, Conrad, who had been won over by the art of the Countess Matilda Hitherto Henry had not quailed, but when he heard of this new calamity he was with difficulty prevented from rushing on the point of his own sword ] Meanwhile many followed one Peter, a hermit, to the crusade, who was a man of incomparable sanctity, and travelling through Germany and Hungary, arrived at Constantinople, then the common seat of war. And they were not long after followed by Eustathius, and Godfrey, surnamed of Boulogne, men famous for feats of arms. But besides these there was the Bishop of Pois, Raymund, Earl of St Giles, Hugo Magnus, King Philip of France's brother, and the two Roberts (whereof one was Earl of Normandy, and the other of Flanders), together with Stephen, Earl of Chartres, who, passing over the Alps into Italy, came first to Rome, where, when they had visited the Saints' tombs and shrines, and received the Pope's benediction, they went to Brundusium with an intent to go from thence into Albania. But because one port would not hold them all, some went to Bari and some to Otranto. But Boemund, who, we told you, had taken Amalfi, being desirous of glory, left

Amalfi, and went upon the same expedition with twelve thousand choice and young Italians. And this his valour so prevailed with his brother Roger, that he laid down his arms and promised that for the future all things betwixt him and his brother should be equally shared; and presently sent his son Tancred, who was desirous to go into the war, along with his brother. By this time Peter the Hermit was come to Constantinople, and pitching his camp in the suburbs did so much damage to the citizens, not voluntary, but through the licentiousness of his soldiers, that the Greeks wished them all cut off. Alexius the emperor was very much concerned for the injuries which his subjects suffered, and therefore forced Peter for want of forage to pass the Bosphorus before he was willing. However, being compelled to it, Peter and his men went over, and first going to Nicomedia, and then to Nicopolis, attacked that city though it was well guarded by the Saracens. But they wanting provisions to maintain the siege, and the Christian soldiers dying apace, they were worsted by the Saracens, and forced to raise their siege; but besides that, received such damage in their flight, that Reginald, General of the Germans, renounced the Christian faith, and surrendered himself to them; and Peter went as it were back, like an ambassador to Constantinople, without any soldiers to attend him. This was welcome news to Alexius, who hoped that the Christians, upon such a discomfiture, would quit that expedition. But in the meanwhile other supplies came in, and Alexius finding that he could not beat them back with open force, he set upon them in the night time as they were pitching their camp in the suburbs of Constantinople, but to no purpose; for they that were posted there maintained their camp with great courage till the rest of the soldiers awaked and got to their arms. They fought, too, the next day with small damage on either side. Then Boemund was sent to Alexius in the name of the army, and partly by menaces, partly by promises, induced him to enter into a league upon these terms: That they should not only pass through his territories with safety, but have all necessaries supplied, and that whatever they took from the Saracens should be his, except Jerusalem. When he had so done, he repassed the Bosphorus, and arrived first at Nicomedia, and then at Nicopolis, which was briskly defended by the Turks within. Both Saracens and Turks being allies at that time in the war against the Christians,

sixty thousand Turks who lay upon the adjacent mountains, made signs to the townsmen to sally out, while they set upon the Christian camp, but were so briskly repulsed that they returned to the mountains without doing any execution. Yet it was difficult to take the city, because all kind of provisions were carried into it by a lake that joins to it, till the lake being filled with small vessels from Constantinople, the townsmen were so straitened for want of necessaries, that fifty-two days after the beginning of the siege they surrendered; the Turks, who were in garrison there, being permitted to march out with their arms and baggage, after which the Christians fortified Nicopolis and then left it, and being forced to travel through deserts, they divided their army into two parts. But it so happened that Boëmund found out a fertile place near a certain river, where designing to stay and refresh his men who were weary of travelling, on a sudden the Turks and Saracens, under the conduct of Soliman, set upon him, and had certainly overpowered him with multitudes, had not Hugo and Godfrey, with forty thousand horse, come to his aid as soon as they heard of it They fought very smartly and a great while on both sides, nor could the battle be ended but by the night coming upon them; and in that fight it was found next day that there were forty thousand men slain, either Turks, Medes, Syrians, Chaldeans, Saracens, or Arabians. But nevertheless Soliman made all the haste possible from thence, and bragging in all places that he was victor, he met ten thousand Arabs who were coming to the army, whom he carried with him into Lycaonia to intercept the Christians' passage and hinder provisions from being carried hither. But the Christians being supplied by the corn then almost ripe upon the ground, arrived first at Iconium (the chief city of that country), and having taken that by surrender, possessed themselves of Heraclea and Tarsus with the same success. Then Baldwin, a man of great courage and wit, first got a signiory in Asia; for he had Tarsus and all that he took in that country bestowed upon him, and not long after made himself master of Edessa and Manista. From thence the bigger army went into Cilicia, now called Armenia Minor, which submitting upon the first onset, they made Palinurus, an Armenian who had fought on the Christian side, governor of it. Afterward they took Cæsarea in Cappadocia, and then marched on toward Antioch over the high mountains. At that time Cassianus

was king of Antioch, formerly called Reblata but that same king who formerly governed all Asia double-walled it, and called it by his own name, and built about it four hundred and sixty towers. Here was also once St Peter's see; and here were born Luke the Evangelist, and that Theophilus, to whom Luke directs his Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles; and here men that were regenerate by baptism were first called Christians, and lived there a thousand years under Christian government. Moreover, it appears that there were one hundred and sixty bishops under the Patriarch of Antioch before the barbarians took it; and that there were in it three hundred and sixty parish churches. In the year, therefore, of our redemption, 1097, Antioch began to be besieged with great application; at which time Urban, who was vexed with tumultuous insurrections, shut himself up for two years in the house of one Peter Leo, a noble citizen, near St Nicolas's Church. But when John Paganus, a most seditious fellow, was dead, he was a little more at liberty, and then he applied himself to settle the state of the church. For he received into favour the Archbishop of Milan (before deposed, because he had been consecrated by one bishop against the canon and custom of Holy Church), he having, by way of penance, changed his habit and lived in a monastery voluntarily and holily upon that account. And when he petitioned with all humility to send him a pall, he did it, and restored him to his authority in this form of words: "We are persuaded by thy letter to send thy brotherhood a pall, together with the blessing of the see apostolic, which kind of honour was never before conferred upon any person absent from us." After that he gave a pall and several privileges to the Archbishop of Toledo (who came to Rome and swore fidelity to the Pope) and made him primate of all Spain. But he laid a curse upon the King of Portugal and all the diocese of St James, because he had thrown the bishop of that province into prison without hearing what he had to say for himself. About the same time Henry, Bishop of Soissons, came to Urban at Rome, and freely quitted his bishopric, which he had received from the King of France, without any hopes of restitution. Whereupon Urban (lest his diocese should suffer for want of a bishop) restored him to his bishopric, though he were unwilling to take it; but he was sworn in this manner: "I, for the future, will not communicate with any that are excommunicated by

this see, wittingly and willingly; nor will I ever be present at the consecrations of those that accept of bishoprics or abbeys, against law and reason, from laymen; and, so help me God and this holy Gospel, I never intend to break my resolution." So also they say he dealt with the Bishop of Bellay. Nor can any one say he was pertinacious for doing so, for he knew how and when to alter his mind upon occasion, which every good man should do For when he had admitted a clerk, whom Gilbert the anti-Pope had made a sub-deacon, to second orders, he changed his mind, because it was a thing of ill example, and like to be of very pernicious consequence. He confirmed the order of Cistercians, which was first set up in Burgundy; and some say the Carthusians began their order in his time: though others say it was in the time of Victor III. But when Urban had settled the Church of God, not only by his pains and example, but by his writings too, which he set forth against the heretics, he died near St Nicolas's, in the house of Peter Leo, an eminent citizen, eleven years, four months, and nineteen days after he came to the popedom, upon the 28th of August. His body was carried over Tiber, to avoid the contrivances of his enemies, who would have done him an injury (if possible) after death, and buried very honourably in St Peter's at the Vatican.

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## PASCHAL II.

### 1099-1118.

PASCHAL the Second, before called Raynerius, an Italian of Romagna, whose father's name was Crescentius, and his mother Alphacia, was chosen Pope about that time when the Christians fought in Asia and took Antioch, into which they were let by Pyrrhus, an eminent citizen. For he admired Boemund's valour so much that he promised to surrender the city to them if the rest of the Christians would let Boëmund be governor of it. The Christians, when they entered the city, spared almost all, but only that they were severe upon the Saracens; and Cassianus, their king, who fled to the mountains, was killed by the Armenians They had taken all but the castle, which, whilst Boemund attacked, he was shot

through the thigh with an arrow, which pained him so, that he was fain to desist from the siege for several days. But when Corbanes, the King of Persia's general, came up, with Sensadolus, Castianus's son, to retake Antioch, Boëmund was by that time well of his wound, met and would have engaged them. But the enemy kept up in the mountains, and could not be tempted to fight by any means. Whereupon Boemund, being necessitated for lack of provisions, was resolved to fight them, though the place was much to his disadvantage. So he ordered that lance wherewith Longinus pierced Christ's side (which they found in St Andrew's Church at Antioch) to be carried before them, as the best ensign they could have; and marching up to them, he defeated them with the slaughter of a hundred thousand, though at first they made a brisk resistance. Besides that, they say there were fifteen thousand camels taken in their camp, and so much plunder carried off, that, from the greatest extremity of want, they were advanced to the greatest abundance of all things necessary. The governor of the castle, when he knew of it, surrendered the castle to Boëmund and embraced the Christian faith; and all that were in the garrison, if they would do the like, were permitted to march off with bag and baggage whither they pleased. After that there arose a great debate betwixt Boemund and Raymund, when Boëmund demanded Antioch, and Raymund said it belonged to the Emperor of Constantinople, by the contract they had before freely made. But the priests, to whom it was referred, gave it to Boemund without any more ado. In the meantime Hugo Magnus (who was gone to Constantinople to compose things) died, and then the other officers (all but Raymund, who besieged Cæsarea in Cappadocia) resolved to go to Jerusalem with their army, and rendezvoused in Lycia. But by the way they attempted to take Tortosa, and after they had spent three months in vain, they raised the siege and marched to Tripoli, the petit King of which place furnished them liberally with money, provisions, and arms, and thereby obtained a peace, upon condition that he, if Jerusalem were taken, should embrace the Christian religion. Hence they removed, and passing by Cæsarea in Palestine, came at five encampings to Jerusalem, which stands upon a high hill, and is divided also by several dales, so that it cannot be besieged but by a very great army. Beside, there wants fountains and river-waters,

which are necessary for an army. For there is no other rivulet but Siloah, and that very little in the summer time (and sometimes nothing at all), which runs down Mount Sion into the Valley of Jehosaphat. Yet there are a great many cisterns in the city and the country to furnish the citizens with water, but cannot supply great armies and beasts of carriage. Notwithstanding the Christians got what provisions they could, and attacked the city in four places very fiercely (whilst the Jerusalemites defended it as stoutly), and upon the 13th of July they took it by storm, the thirty-ninth day after they began to besiege it, in the year 1099, four hundred and ninety years after the Saracens took it under the reign of Heraclius. Godfrey was most to be commended in that action; for that he first mastered that part of the wall which was allotted for him and his brother to storm; and helped Balion down into the city to open the gates for the Christians: at whose entrance there was such a slaughter both in the city, and especially in the Temple, that men were above the ankles in blood; and the same day they had taken the Temple too, if night had not come upon them. However, the next day the attack was renewed, and quarter given to all that desired and would lay down their arms. But the Christians, after such a victory, when they had rested eight days from the toil of war, and had visited the holy places of the city and our Lord's sepulchre, took Godfrey upon their shoulders, and carried him into the palace, where by universal consent they chose him king. And he, though he did not refuse the title of king, yet he would not have a golden crown, because he thought it unseemly for any one to wear a golden diadem, where Christ, the king of kings, wore one of thorns when He redeemed mankind. Then also was Arnulphus, the priest, made patriarch, and consecrated by the bishops that were there present The citizens of Neapolis in Assyria were so frightened at this victory, that they sent ambassadors to Godfrey to surrender themselves and all they had. Soon after, news came that a mighty army of Soliman, King of Babylon, was come to Ascalon (a city twenty miles from Jerusalem, was always in enmity with the people of it), Godfrey resolved to meet them; and therefore left Peter the Hermit to guard the city, and recalled Eustace and Tancred, whom he had sent to Neapolis with two legions. As he marched against the enemy, he was informed by the prisoners he took, that Clement was Soliman's general, and had fifty

thousand men under him and a navy laden with provision and artillery ; but notwithstanding was resolved to fight him ; which he did, and Godfrey, who had the day, killed thirty thousand of his men, as the story goes ; but Clement, who led the enemy, escaped away. The Ascalonites having received such a blow, delivered up their city straight to Godfrey, in which he found as much gold and silver as ever was seen together before. Jerusalem being thus retaken, many of the princes who had performed their vow and had their desire, began to take their journeys home into Europe, among the rest the Earls of St Giles and Troyes. But Godfrey and his brothers, who had great success, took Joppa, a seaport town, and Rama, which hindered the Christians' passage from Ascalon to Jerusalem. He also besieged Caffa, otherwise called Porfiria, at the foot of Mount Carmel, four miles from Acre. But whilst the siege lasted, Tiberias, a town of Galilee, surrendered of their own accord, and Caffa was not long after yielded upon terms. But nothing, that men call happiness, is very lasting. For, a year after the taking of Jerusalem, which cost so much labour and pains, Godfrey died of a fever ; and the Christians to prevent any damage that might happen by an interregnum, chose his brother Baldwin in his room, A.D. 1100. But to return to Paschal, whom Gregory the Seventh made Cardinal Priest of St Clement's for his learning and virtue. He was chosen Pope by the clergy after Urban's death, though he could have been well satisfied with a private life, for he was formerly a monk, and made Pope against his will, denying himself to be capable of so great a charge ; but yet at the desire of the people, because the clergy chose him unanimously, and the College of Cardinals approved of it, he did take upon him the pontificate ; but not till they had thrice repeated these words with acclamations, "St Peter has chosen Rainerius, a very good man, Pope," and the secretaries and clerks after that gave him the title of Paschal. Then he put on his scarlet cloak or robe, with a mitre on his head, and was attended to the Lateran by the clergy and people upon a white horse, until he came to the south portico that leads to St Saviour's, where, when he had sat some time in a seat made on purpose, as the custom is, he went up into the court of the Lateran, and put on a girdle upon which hung seven keys and seven seals ; to let him know that, according to the seven-fold grace of the Holy Ghost, he had power to govern the Church under God, and to bind, loose,

open, or shut. Then with a papal sceptre in his hand he visited those places which are to be entered only by Popes, and the day following he received his consecration at St Peter's, where Oddo, Bishop of Ostia; Maurice, of Porto; Gualter, of Alba; Bono, of Lavico; Milo, of Palestrina; and Offo, of Nepeso, anointed him with chrism: at which ceremony the Bishop of Ostia had the chief place, which continues so till this day. After his unction he returned into the city, and took his crown according to the custom. That this would so happen, Albert, Bishop of Alatri, had formerly foretold; for being asked by a friend of his, who he thought would succeed Urban, God, said he, will choose Rainerius for his faith and constancy. Nay, they say that the same Albert foretold also the exact time that he should live in his pontificate. But Paschal, who consulted the good of the Church, then like to be ruined by seditious men [repeated the excommunication of Henry, and] sent out his forces against Gilbert the anti-Pope, the ringleader of all the mischief; and to render himself sufficient for so great a war, he borrowed several troops of Roger, Earl of Sicily, and a thousand ounces of gold. Gilbert, that villain, lived then at Abba de Marsi, and when he understood that the enemy was coming, he durst not trust to his own strength, which he had procured of Richard, Count of Capua, but left Alba, and went with all speed into the mountains near Aquila, where not long after he died suddenly and paid for all his iniquities. But notwithstanding his being taken off, the Church of God did not rest altogether from troubles. For Richard, who, we told you, supplied him with men and money, put up in his room one Albert, a citizen of Aversa, between Naples and Capua, who was compelled immediately by the well-affected party to quit the place, and go into banishment. But the people of Cava, near Palestrina, following the example of Richard's folly and arrogance, made one Frederick Pope. But they also repented of what they had done, and one hundred and five days after turned him out of his pontificate, compelled him to take upon him the habit of an anchorite, and lead a private life. Besides these there was a third also, one Maginulphus, a Roman, who was so bold as to usurp the title of Pope at Ravenna. But the Romans banished him, and those of Ravenna, when he had no friend left, expelled him their city. The Roman Church being thus settled, Paschal, who was a man of great wit and courage, diverted his mind from religion

to arms, and by the help of Roger, retook Castellana and Benevento from the enemies. But in the meantime Peter Columna, a Roman citizen, by the advice of Richard, Count of Capua (whose main design was to divide the Pope's army), seized upon Cava, a town in the Pope's dominions. Thereupon the Pope marched against him, and not only retook Cava, but also took from him Zangarola and Columna, two castles of his paternal inheritance, from whence the family of the Columneses took their title. There was another family at Rome (called the Corsi) very powerful and so true to Gregory VII., that their houses which were under the Capitol were burnt by Henry down to the ground; yet afterward Stephen, the chief of that family, changed sides, and in Paschal's absence surprised St Paul's Church, and the castle hard by, from whence he continually teased the city of Rome with inroads very strangely. For this reason the Pope omitted all foreign affairs, and returned with all speed to the city, from whence he drove Stephen, who went safely off, disguised in a monk's habit, and so deceived those that came to take him. At that time, many authors say, there appeared a great many prodigies, as, that the sea gained in some places full twenty paces into the land more than ordinary, and, on the other side, in some places retired from the shore an hundred. And the like I saw at Pozzuoli the last year by some old weather-beaten marble pillars, that were wasted to three cubits, though the inhabitants told me that three years before they were washed by the sea. They tell you likewise that a comet appeared of a vast bigness, that was seen at sun-setting [1097]. Paschal, however, was not disturbed at any of these things, because he knew them to be natural. But when he heard the bishop of Florence should say that Antichrist was born, he went immediately thither, and calling a council, who discussed the matter very nicely, he perceived the bishop was only ambitious of being the author of some great matter, and therefore when he had chid him he sent him away, and went himself into Lombardy, where he called an assembly at Guardastallo of many princes and bishops, and held a long debate about homages, fees, and the oaths of bishops that had been or should be administered to laymen And hearing of the scandalous lives of the French priests, he went into France, and at Troyes he called a synod, in which, having taken order for the more decent adorning of churches, and partly expelled, partly chas-

tised their incumbents, he returned in haste to Italy, because he heard all things were there in an uproar; for Stephen Corsus had taken Montalto and Pontechio from that part of Tuscany which now they call St Peter's patrimony, and had fortified them with castles, from whence he pillaged the whole country with frequent inroads But the Pope fell upon him, and beat him out of one of his castles, though he could not storm the other by reason of its situation, and the winter season which was at hand. Going therefore into Apulia to compose the differences of those parts, he committed the care of the Church to the Bishop of Lavico; to Peter, the son of Leo, and to Leo, the son of Fregepan, the city and all its concerns, and to Ptolemy, Lord of Subiaco, the territories adjacent, leaving his nephew Godfrey general, to assist them in the defence of the Church's jurisdiction But in the Pope's absence, Ptolemy, the reputed author of all that mischief, threatened he should never return to the city any more, and all these revolted from the Church, to wit, Peter Columna, whom the Pope had taken into favour; the Abbot of Farfa, together with those of Anagni, Palestrina, Tivoli, Frascati, and Sabina. The same Ptolemy also raised an army and besieged Alba in Campagna di Roma, which the citizens very stoutly defended. But when the Pope and the prince of Cajetta came up, together with Richard of Aquila, two excellent commanders, they drove out these usurpers that would have possessed themselves of the Church revenues, and freeing Alba from the siege, he also had the other revolting towns surrendered up to him, except that he was fain to storm Tivoli, which stood out very obstinately, and occasioned much damage on both sides, though he took Montalto and turned out Stephen, and quieted the whole patrimony in a short time. As soon as he had made peace here, he applied himself to the war in Asia, and to that end wrote letters and sent nuncios to all Christian princes to exhort and animate them to it as much as possible, because he heard that, since the death of Godfrey, the Saracens brought great armies to Jerusalem, designing to retake it; as also that the Christians had received a great overthrow, that the Earl of Burgundy was slain in the fight, that Boemund was taken alive, and that Baldwin himself, Godfrey's brother, then king, had made a narrow escape, so that the city was well-nigh taken. But the barbarians, though they had gotten such a victory, yet they durst not attempt Jerusalem; for

Tancred, who had defended Antioch very valiantly, did also take Laodicea, which belonged to the Emperor of Constantinople, by storm, because he heard that Alexius was pleased to hear that so many Christians were killed, and hindered our men from passing out of Europe into Asia. Baldwin, the king, encouraged by the good fortune and resolution of Tancred, raised an army as fast as he could. He resolved to march against Acre, having sent to Genoa and Venice for auxiliaries, from whence he had eighty ships of war, besides many galleys that were sent to the place, insomuch that the city was besieged both by land and sea very closely, and in twenty days was taken, and the Saracens that came to defend it utterly routed and defeated. Tancred showed great piety towards his uncle Boemund, who had been kept in prison by the enemies for three years, and restored him to the principality of Antioch, after he had redeemed him with a great ransom of silver and gold. After that Boemund committed the care of Antioch to Tancred, and went first into Italy and then into France, and married Constantia, King Philip of France's daughter; but hearing that Alexius, emperor of Constantinople, infested the seaport towns near Antioch, he returned into Italy, and getting a navy ready, sailed unto Dalmatia, where he besieged Durazzo, that he might divert Alexius from the war in Asia, as he soon did; and Alexius desiring a peace, Boemund granted it, upon condition that he should put an end to the war against Antioch, and let the French soldiers pass through his country into Asia without any hindrance. Peace thus made, Boëmund sailed for Asia with the navy which he had provided against Alexius, and did so recruit and cheer the spirits of the Christians, that King Baldwin stormed and took Baruti, a maritime town of Phœnicia, between Sidon and Biblos, whose metropolis is Tyre, after he had besieged it two months, but not without great loss of men: so that he was very severe with them, and gave the city as a colony to the Christians. At the same time was Sidon also taken. But amidst these successes of the Christians: Boemund, that famous Prince, died (which caused an universal sorrow), and left his little son Boemund, whom he had by his wife Constantia, and who was to be his successor in the principality of Antioch, under Tancred's tuition till he grew up In the meantime Henry the Fifth, when his father was dead (whom he had defeated at Liege in a pitched

battle), having composed all things in Germany, came into Italy, but tarried at Sutri, knowing he should scarce be welcome to Paschal; because he had demolished many churches in the wars, and given bishoprics as he pleased to anybody against law and reason. But when ambassadors had been sent from one to the other, and the emperor had sworn that he would come peaceably into the city, and force all the bishops that were possessed of bishoprics either by bribery or violence, to quit their preferments immediately; it was agreed he should enter the city. Then Henry removed from Sutri to Monte Guadio, or, as some will have it, to Monte Mario, (by others called Monte aureo) and pitched his camp there: and from thence by consent of the people, and attended by all the nobility, he marched first into the Borgo di Santo Pietro, the priests leading the way in their vestments, and carrying the relics of saints along with them from St Angelo; for he went that way into the Borgo di Santo Pietro as far as St Peter's Church; and upon the steps that ascend to it he kissed the Pope's feet, who came so far with the cardinals to meet him. And when he had quartered his soldiers according to his mind, he went into the church upon the Pope's right hand; where, when he had said his prayers at the altar, he desired the Pope to confirm the bishops that he had made, though he had sworn that he never would ask it; which Paschal denying, he gave the signal, and in came his soldiers, who presently took Paschal and all the cardinals, and carried him and a great many of the clergy, whom they had plundered before, into their camp. The people of Rome were so incensed at this affront that they rose in arms and beat the Germans out of the Borgo and shut all the gates. Thereupon the emperor went to M. di Santo Silvestro and put the Pope and cardinals in strait prison, with guards round about, lest they should escape; which done, he went back with the rest of his men to attack the city, and came as far as the river Aniene. From whence, when he had first made himself master of Ponte Mammolo (which takes its name from Mammea, the mother of Alexander the emperor, who founded it), he burned all the villages round about, and made continual incursions upon the Romans. At which the Pope, who was concerned for the calamity of the citizens and wearied with their entreaties, desired to be brought (as he was) to Ponte Salaro, where he sent for notaries out of the city

to write down the contract, and (though he was unwilling yet,) did confirm all the bishops that Henry had chosen. Things being thus composed and prisoners on both sides dismissed, the emperor was crowned by the Pope in St Peter's, but the city gates were first shut, lest the people should break out; and the very church had a guard set upon it by Henry's order. By this means he had what he wished for, and so returned into Germany not long after But the Pope, when Italy was a little settled, exhorted the Pisans, who were skilful seamen, to leave the Baleares (two islands called Majorca and Minorca, which they had in their possession for some time before) and sail against the Saracens, who infested our seas and all the shores of Christendom. The Pisans were desirous of honour, and provided a great navy, manned with most of their young men, and went against the enemy. But whilst they stayed at Volterra for a wind, the Luccheses invaded their city, which had nobody to defend it; and had taken it, had not the Florentines, at the request of the Pisans, beat back the Luccheses, and manfully maintained it, for which kindness the Pisans, when they came back victorious over the Saracens, presented the Florentines with two porphyry pillars, still to be seen at the gate of St John Baptist's Chapel. In the meantime Paschal held a council at the Lateran, and revoked all that he had promised to Henry, because he was forced to do what he did, either out of fear of Henry or in pity to the cardinals that were in bonds, or to the people of Rome, whom Henry harassed after a hostile manner, to make a peace upon any terms. He therefore thought it better to retract what he had done amiss (since he was compelled) than to let other princes take that for a precedent, and think that lawful for them to do, which Henry only extorted from him against his will. At that time Matilda the Countess died of age, and left the Church of Rome, in her will, all that tract of ground that lies betwixt the river Pissia, and Santo Quirico in Sienois, to Ceperano between the Apennine and the sea, as also Ferrara, which is still tributary to the Church of Rome. There are some authors (of which Vincentius is one of the best) who write that this lady died at Florence in a great fire (that burnt down most of the city, and destroyed two thousand persons), and that her body was carried thence afterward into Lombardy, and buried in a Monastery of St Benedict, twelve miles from Mantua.

My opinion is, that she died at Mantua and was carried to St Benedict's (which she built) by her own order, and Anselm's care, who was a very holy man and the cause of her building that stately edifice. And I am sure Anselm himself, who was Bishop of Lucca, was buried there too, but translated afterward to the Cathedral of Mantua, lest the neighbourhood should have stolen him out of his grave, because he was every day more and more famous for miracles The Luccheses say that they have Matilda's body, which I cannot believe, because Guido Gonzaga, whilst he repaired the Monastery of St Benedict, found and removed the body (as he ought) to a better place. Some authors also write that there was another Anselm at the same time, a very learned man, and of such esteem in England, that he was in a short time from a monk made an abbot, and then Archbishop of Canterbury, the same person who wrote several Books of Meditations, Why God should be made Man, of Free Will; of Parables; of the Cross; and of St John Baptist. These happy times produced Sigebert, the Monk of Gemblours, a man of excellent learning; and Bernard of Castillon, in Burgundy, a man of a noble family. He, when he was twenty-two years of age, took upon him the habit of a monk (under Stephen the Abbot, who was the third after the Order of Cistercians was erected), with thirty fellows more, and was so much commended for his learning and piety, that in a short time he was made Abbot of Clarevaux, a monastery built by one Robert, a nobleman of great honour, and there he lived and governed with great reputation for thirty-six years. And when he (that is Bernard) died, he left, besides the fame of his sanctity, a great many monuments of his wit in writing. especially his Commentaries upon the Canticles, and his considerations of divine Contemplation dedicated to Eugenius the Pope, from whence he might learn the duty of a Pope. He likewise wrote many Epistles; one above the rest to the Romans, in which he much blames them; as also an Apology, and some Sermons upon solemn occasions. But to return to Paschal, who decreed in a Council held at Guardastallo, that no cities of Romagna, as Piacenza, Parma, Reggio, Modena, nor Bologna should be any longer subject to Ravenna, which had been formerly the metropolis and mother church, because the Bishops of Ravenna had often exalted their horns against the Roman see. But when the Pope came back to the city, the

people desired him that he would make Peter's son governor of the city, upon the death of his father, who was so in his lifetime, which the Pope denying to do by reason of his non-age (for he was scarce ten years old), there was such a tumult of a sudden, that he was forced to leave the city, for fear of some great mischief; for there were many that said it was not fit that such a boy should be entrusted with such a weighty employment. But that would not do; for when he was at Alba, and heard that Peter Leo (a great friend to the Church) was set upon in his own house by the adverse faction, he immediately sent Ptolemy from Ariccia with a good competent number of men to assist him; who drove the enemy over the Tiber, killing some, and taking others, whom he divided among the several towns, to be kept. But there soon appeared great inconstancy in Ptolemy. For those whom he had taken but a little before, he set upon by surprise as they went through the Selva del' Aglio by his order to the several towns, and took them again and carried them with him to Ariccia, among whom was also the dead governor's son. Nor was Ptolemy content to do so only, but he possessed himself of Sarmoneta Nymphæo, Tiberia, and the sea coasts. In the meantime Henry came out of Germany into Italy with an army which struck terror into all that heard of it. But when he was come to Rome in the Pope's absence (who at that time held a council in Apulia) and thought himself deprived of his imperial dignity, together with the power of bestowing bishoprics, he was crowned a second time, before St Gregory's body, by the Archbishop of Braga, who was banished by his own country, and so went home again. But Paschal, when the council was dismissed, came out of Apulia to Rome with an army of Normans and retook many towns from the enemy, and at Palestrina gave willing audience to the ambassadors of Calo Johannes, Emperor of Constantinople (who succeeded his father Alexius), and bid them be sure to animate their master against the Saracens. Then the Abbot of Farfa and Ptolemy, whose ill actions were too great to be pardoned, skulked about a good while, till at last Paschal, who was a very mild man, took them into favour. When things were thus settled and a church dedicated to Agapetus, built at Palestrina, which he consecrated, he returned from thence in pomp to Rome, where he was met by the whole city, in which crowd he fell sick, and perceiving his approaching death, he received the sacrament,

exhorted the clergy to peace and concord; and died after he had been Pope eighteen years, six months, and seven days, upon the 14th of January, and was honourably buried in the Lateran Church. He, in his pontificate, made fifty priests, thirty deacons, and a hundred bishops. He also consecrated fifteen churches at Rome, especially that of St Adrian Intrefori, which had been profaned by some of the factions; and the Church of St Mary in Monticello

In fine, he repaired and consecrated the Church of the Sancti quatuor Coronati which was defaced, when Robert Guiscard, Prince of Salerno, set that part of the city on fire, which goes from the Lateran to the Capitol; as I have said in the life of Gregory the Seventh.

## GELASIUS II.

### 1118-1119.

GELASIUS the Second, before named John, born at Gaeta, his father's name was Crescentius, of a noble family, from his youth up well educated and learned, in Monte-Cassino under the religious abbot Odrisio he learned the fundamental principles of the Christian faith. For this reason he was sent for to Rome by Urban II., who knew him to be trusty and virtuous and ever had a great esteem for him. But his fidelity was then most conspicuous, when Pope Urban was besieged by the Germans and sectators of Gilbert the anti-Pope in the isle of St Bartholomew, between the two bridges; for he only and that noble person Peter Leone never abandoned him. Urban, therefore, when he was in his prosperity again, mindful of so great kindness, and for his learning and fidelity, made him his secretary; and because he had an elegant way of writing, he committed to him the charge of reforming the style of the Court of Rome, which by the ignorance and negligence of former ages, was very much corrupted. And afterwards observing the great worth of the man, he resolved to make him a cardinal, and proposed it often in the consistory with the good liking of all. But Urban dying soon after, Pope Paschal taking notice of his great deserts, immediately made him cardinal-deacon; and upon

the death of Paschal, when the consultation was held for the electing of a new Pope, all the cardinals being to that purpose assembled in the monastery below the palace of Leo and Cincio Frangipani, by an universal consent John of Gaeta was chosen Pope by the name of Gelasius. This election put Cincio Frangipani into so great a rage, because the college had rejected a creature of his, whom he had proposed to them to be Pope, that, accompanied with many armed men, he forced into the monastery, breaking down the doors, and beating down whomsoever he met in his way, and taking the Pope himself by the collar, he flung him upon the ground and kicked him, and then made him a prisoner. The cardinals, who endeavoured to make their escape, he threw off their horses and mules, not sparing any manner of contumely, that could be put upon so venerable an assembly. But the people of Rome would not endure the affront, but gathered together in arms before Frangipani's house, and threatened death and ruin to himself and his family if he did not immediately set Gelasius safe and sound at liberty. The Frangipani complied with all their demands, and Leo, in the sight of all, falling at the Pope's feet, kissed them, and most humbly begged his pardon. The Pope then mounted his white horse, and, attended by the clergy and people of Rome, he rode to the Lateran, and was there crowned according to custom. At this time Baldwin (who had been exhorted by the Pope, both by letters and messengers, to withstand stoutly the barbarian forces till some supplies could be sent into Asia to his assistance) took Sobal, a strong place in Syria, and fortified it, that it might be a receptacle for the Christians in their war against the infidels. Boemund also, the younger, dying, Tancred, who was his uncle and guardian, was by all the Christians declared Prince of Antioch, which principality having settled, he was sent for by Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, to come with all his force to aid him against the Turks, Saracens, and Arabs, who, with a great army, had invaded his kingdom. Tancred, arriving there, and observing the small forces of the Christians, dissuaded Baldwin from joining battle with the enemy, by that means putting the whole affair of Christendom under a great hazard, but all in vain, for Baldwin, giving them an opportunity of fighting, was overcome with great slaughter, himself and a few men retreating with great difficulty to Jerusalem, and Tancred, by several by-

ways, escaping to Antioch. The enemies, puffed up with this great victory, seized Mount Tabor, and pulling down the monastery there, put all the monks to the sword. Gelasius, in the meantime, could not be at rest from a foreign enemy, for the Emperor Henry had entered Italy with his army, wasting all as he marched, and was just about to enter Rome in a hostile manner; to escape whom, the Pope at first retired to the house of Volcamino, a noble citizen, but not deeming that altogether safe, he went with his attendants aboard a couple of galleys prepared for that purpose, and sailed down the Tiber to Ostia, the German soldiers pursuing him and shooting at him with darts and arrows. Coming to Ostia, he dared not venture any whither by sea, it was so stormy, but he travelled by land to Ardea, accompanied still wherever he went by Hugh, Cardinal of the Twelve Apostles, an illustrious prelate. Soon after, the sea growing more calm, he returned to Ostia, from whence he sailed, first to Terracina and then to Gaeta, where he was very kindly entertained by his countrymen. Hither came to meet him William, Duke of Apulia, Robert, Prince of Capua, and Richard of Aquila, who all promised him their utmost service, as became loyal feudatories of the Church of God. Henry, hearing these princes were raising an army against him, set up for an anti-Pope Maurice, Archbishop of Braga, by the name of Gregory, to oppose Gelasius, and recommended him to the family of Frangipani; and not content to have acted so pernicious a thing, he entered the country of Anagni, and plundered and ruined all before him; he had just laid siege to Turricolo, a strong place, when, on a sudden, news was brought that Gelasius, with the Princes of Apulia, approached with a great army, whereupon he decamped, and as he retreated out of Italy, he filled all places with slaughter and rapine. Gelasius, upon his retreat, dismissed the Apulian princes, supposing now that Henry was gone, all things would be in a peaceable condition at Rome hereafter; but he was very much deceived in his opinion, for he was soon after informed that the anti-Pope, upheld by the power of the Frangipani, continued still at Rome, out of fear of which family he stayed privately awhile in the house of a friend; but afterwards, as he was saying mass in the Church of Praxede, his enemies with their party rushed in, and he had much ado to escape out of their hands by flight, some of the Corsi and Normanni, two great families,

with his nephew, Crescentius, fighting briskly in his defence. The next day, guarded by his retinue and friends in arms, he returned to the city from St Paul's (whither he had fled), and consulting with his cardinals, he resolved to leave the city, lest, the uproars every day increasing, some great mischief might ensue. Having, therefore, left to Peter, Bishop of Porto, the vicegerency in ecclesiastical affairs at Rome, and to Hugo, Cardinal of the Twelve Apostles, the care of Benevento, he sailed first to Pisa, not conceiving the way by land to be secure for himself and the cardinals who accompanied him; where he, in the audience of the whole city, related the causes of his departure from Rome, and was received with great kindness by the Pisans; thence setting sail for France, he arrived at St Giles's, and was there entertained by the Abbot of Clugni and his monks, with many others, who came for that purpose, very magnificently and splendidly. Then he crossed the middle of France with a venerable rather than sumptuous attendance (which now-a-days is the fashion), by the way dedicating the Churches of St Cecily in Stagello, St Sylvester in Burgundy, and St Stephen in Tornay, and with stones determining the bounds of each church. Coming at last to the monastery of Clugni, he was taken with a pleurisy and died, having been Pope one year and five days. He was a most holy man and very praiseworthy, both for his life and doctrine; so that I cannot doubt, considering the integrity of his life, and his religious constancy amidst the many storms and troubles he underwent, but that he now enjoys eternity among the blessed in heaven. He was buried in the porch of the said monastery. Some write that in his time the Order of Knights Templars first began, who, living not far from the Holy Sepulchre, entertained pilgrims and accompanied them in arms in their journeys to and from the holy places, which, by their means, might be visited with all safety. These knights Cusentinus commends highly for their holy Christian lives.

## CALISTUS II.

### 1119-1124.

CALISTUS the Second, first named Guy, a Burgundian, Archbishop of Vienne, descended of the blood-royal of France, was chosen Pope by those cardinals who were at Clugni at the death of Gelasius, but he would not take upon him the pontificate till he heard the election was approved by those cardinals also who were left at Rome and elsewhere in Italy; which being certified to him by letters and messengers, he went to Rome, and the nobility and people meeting him congratulated his promotion and their own good fortune, not doubting but he would be a restorer of peace and tranquillity to the city of Rome. Here he settled matters to his mind, and [held a great council at Rheims the first year of his pontificate, with every adjunct of splendour, renewed the Truce of God, and heard the French king in person appeal against the conduct of Henry I. of England. He next] went to Benevento, where all the princes thereabout were met to salute him (according to custom), of whom the principal were William, Duke of Apulia; Jordan, Count of Capua; Arnulphus, Count of Ariano; and Robert, Count of Lauretello: all men of great honour, and without doubt the most powerful lords of that part of Italy, who took their oath of fealty to the Pope. But Calistus, having nothing more in his thoughts than the holy war, where it was much feared the Christian cause would not be able to sustain itself against so many barbarous nations, returning to Rome, despatched away Lambert, bishop of Ostia, a Saxon, Cardinal of St Stephen in Monte Celio, and Gregory, Cardinal of St Angelo, to the emperor to treat of a peace, which having procured without much difficulty, they hung up a table of the articles thereof in the Lateran Church, to the incredible joy of all people. But this lasted not long, for Roger, Count of Sicily, in the absence of Count William, had seized upon Calabria and Apulia, the charge of both which countries William (going to Constantinople to espouse the daughter of Alexius the emperor) had committed to the care of the Pope. Upon this therefore the Pope left Rome and went to Benevento, from whence he sent Cardinal Hugo to Roger as he was besieging the Rocca di Niceforo, to persuade him to lay down his arms and quit the siege, but he little

regarded the Pope's order, rather pursuing the war more vigorously, fearing lest if his cousin William should arrive before he had possessed himself of those two countries, it might render his design unfeasible. The Pope then began to raise an army, when on a sudden both himself and many of the cardinals were taken ill of fevers, which forced him to return to Rome without performing anything, so that Roger, not meeting any resistance, easily made himself master of Calabria and Apulia. Thus was William bereft of his country and of the wife he expected, and being forced to betake himself to live in the court of the Prince of Salerno, he died a little while after without heirs; and Roger having lost so considerable an enemy, arrogates to himself the title of King of Italy. Calistus, as soon as he recovered his health, held a council in the Lateran of nine hundred fathers, where it was consulted, how with the first opportunity they might send recruits to the Christian army in Asia, then much weakened; the news whereof gave such courage to Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, that he set upon Gazis, a king of the Turks, that inhabited Asia Minor, who was coming against him with a great army, vanquished him and took him prisoner; and with like success he encountered the King of Damascus, who was marching against Jerusalem, whom he defeated, having killed two thousand of the enemy and taken a thousand. But Balahac, King of the Persians, coming on with numerous forces, and Baldwin not staying till the auxiliaries could arrive, he rashly adventured to fight him, and was totally routed, and himself and many of his nobles made captives This made Pope Calistus hasten their assistance, lest the remainder of the Christians should be destroyed, having no king; and by the mediation of Veramundus, Patriarch of Jerusalem, a learned and a good man, he animated the Venetians with hopes of glory and reward, to man out a stout fleet upon the service, in the year 1121, Dominico Michiele being duke; which arriving at Joppa, then straitly besieged both by sea and land by the Saracens, they overcame them with great slaughter and raised the siege. Hence they went to Tyre, which after a long and bloody siege they took, having first made it their bargain that half Ascalon and Tyre should be theirs, if by their means they happened to be taken But Emanuel, Emperor of the Grecks, successor to Calo Joannes, afterwards envying these great successes to the Latines or those of the Roman

Communion, commanded the Venetians to recall their admiral, which they did and he obeyed, but he was so enraged, that in his return he sacked Rhodes, Chios (from whence he translated to Venice the body of St Theodore the martyr), Samos, Mitilene, and Andros, islands belonging to the emperor. He took Modone and fortified it, and subjected the island Trau (before in the hands of the Hungarians) to the Venetian commonwealth. He brought also along with him to Venice the stone upon which at Tyre Christ is said to have sat. In the meantime, Baldwin, who we said was taken prisoner, being ransomed, returned to Jerusalem, and for a while kept up the Christian cause; so that Calistus, having now a little leisure from foreign troubles, creates twelve cardinals, rebuilds several churches that were ruined with age, repairs the city walls, makes conduits, fortifies castles belonging to the Church, and distributes great donaries of silver and gold to several churches, purchases several pieces of ground to augment St Peter's revenue, and within the court builds the Church of St Nicolas. But so great felicity cannot long be enjoyed on earth without interruption, for Gregory the anti-Pope, before named Bordino, attempting to usurp the Papacy, kept at Sutri, where, with the assistance of some Roytelets, thereabout he did great damage to the Romans by his incursions, and plundered all the strangers he could meet with that travelled to Rome, either out of devotion or about business. Calistus therefore gets together an army on a sudden, and sending before John de Crema, Cardinal of St Chrysogon, with the most expedite part of soldiery, himself follows, and defeating the enemy takes Sutri, and sets Bordino upon a camel, leading him so in triumph to Rome; and then forgave him his life, but thrust him into the monastery of Cave. At last Calistus, having deserved well both of God and man, died in the Lord, after he had been Pope five years, ten months, and six days. The see was then vacant eight days.

## HONORIUS II.

1124-1130.

HONORIUS the Second, at first named Lambert, born in the country of Imola, was made Pope about the time that Baldwin, being ransomed from his imprisonment,

added the principality of Antioch to the kingdom of Jerusalem, all the heirs being dead to whom of right it belonged. But so great a province not being to be governed without a lieutenant, he made Raymund, son of William, Duke of Austria, their governor, whose wife was the daughter of Boemund the elder, and having thus settled matters, he went against the King of Ascalon, who, being assisted with forces from Egypt, infested the territories of Jerusalem, and him he utterly routed in one battle. Afterward Baldequan, a petit King of Damascus, attempting the same thing, but with greater forces, he overthrew him in three fierce battles, his men in their flight being killed up and down like sheep. To return to Honorius: though his parentage was mean, yet for his excellent learning and conversation he was every way worthy of so high a dignity; not but that the methods by which he obtained it were not altogether commendable, the election having been procured rather by the ambition of some private men than by unanimous consent. For when, upon the death of Calistus, the consultation was held about choosing a new Pope, Leo Frangipani imposed upon the conclave that the election should be deferred for three days, under pretence of more mature deliberation and a stricter search into the ecclesiastical canons, though neither of these were part of his design, but it was craftily and politically done by him to gain time, in which votes might be procured for the choice of Lambert. The people were extremely desirous to have had the Cardinal of St Stephen, which Frangipani also pretended, that so he might by this trick draw over the people and the unwary fathers, which some of the cardinals observing, because they would not have a Pope according to his mind, they set aside the Cardinal of St Stephen, and chose Theobald, Cardinal of St Anastasio, Pope, by the name of Cœlestine. Leo now thought it no time to dally, but perceiving the people were displeased at that choice, declares Lambert aforesaid for the Pope, with great acclamations of the citizens, the clergy also approving it; and that the people might not have time to change their minds, he immediately clothes him with the pontifical vestments in the Scinie, a place near St Sylvester's Church. He, though it was not without sleight that he got the Popedom, yet was afterward universally saluted and owned as such. As soon as he was made Pope he created several worthy persons Cardinals, of

whose assistance he constantly made use in all his difficult affairs; being very much delighted with the conversation of excellent men, which was the reason that he detained at Rome with him Pontius, Abbot of Clugni, a very diligent person, and showed great respect to the extraordinary parts of Hildebert, Bishop of Mans, whom for the sake of his skill at heroic or elegiac verse he promoted afterward to the Archbishopric of Tours. This age was rendered also more illustrious by Hugo de Sancto Victore, a famous doctor of Paris, who then flourished, who left behind him several lasting monuments of his admirable learning: as his book concerning the "Sacraments;" his book of "Sentences;" another written by way of dialogue, entitled "Didascalus;" another of "Care of the Soul;" and a book entitled, "Of Arts and Sciences." All these learned men Pope Honorius loved to that degree that he neglected no opportunity of preferring them. One foul deed yet was acted in his time much to be abhorred, for one Arnulphus, an excellent preacher of the religion of Christ, was murdered at Rome by the procurement of the priests, because he inveighed bitterly against their incontinence and sensuality, and reproved their pompous living and insatiable appetite after wealth, proposing the poverty and pure integrity of our Saviour for their imitation. This man the Roman nobility and gentry looked upon as a true prophet and disciple of Christ, and extolled him to the skies, which begat so much envy and rage as cost the good man his life. Whether this holy man was a priest, a monk, or a hermit, is not certain. Historians write that Honorius was very much troubled at the fact, but could never find the authors of it. He, after having reigned well in St Peter's chair six years, two months, and a day, died, to the general grief, and was buried with the greatest solemnity in the Lateran Church, and the see was thereupon vacant one day. His name is in an inscription in marble before the Church of Praxede, but I know not what it means.

## INNOCENT II.

1130-1143.

INNOCENT the Second, a Roman, born in Trastevere, being made Pope, raises an army and marches against Roger, son and heir of the former Roger, Lord of Sicily, who endeavoured to possess himself of Apulia, upon the death of William, the Duke thereof, in whom the whole family of Robert Guiscard was extinct. In this expedition the Romans showed so much courage and fortitude that at the first onset they overthrew the enemy then encamped at St Germans, and taking the town, they followed Roger to Gallucio and there besieged him. But in the meantime William, Duke of Calabria, his son, with a good army comes upon them and in one battle defeats them, not only delivering his father from the siege, but taking the Pope prisoner with all the cardinals that then attended him; all whom yet soon after Roger, using wonderful moderation, freely released, for which reason the Pope afterwards was easily persuaded to grant anything he desired, except the title of king, which he earnestly solicited with great expense and large promises. During these actions one Peter, son of Peter Leone, a potent citizen of Rome, by some seditious fellows was set up for an anti-Pope, by the name of Anacletus, who, by spoiling several churches in the city and rifling their treasures (particularly breaking into St Peter's Church, whence he took a cross of gold, with its appendant ornaments), had raked together so much wealth that he was able with it to corrupt to his side any of the citizens who were desirous of change. So that Innocent, upon his return to the city, finding all places full of uproars, and that these must needs end in the slaughter of many men, he retired of his own accord, and first sailing to Pisa, from thence he went to Genoa, and at last to France. Anacletus then being rid of so considerable an adversary, endeavoured, as much as he could, by liberal pensions to bring over those who were for Innocent to his side, and that he might more firmly oblige Roger (then inclining to his party) to his interest, he created him King of both Sicilies. Innocent, in the meanwhile, holds a council at Clermont, in which the anti-Pope and his followers were condemned; from whence he went to Orleans, and having visited

King Louis, by whom he was kindly received, he passed into La Beausse, where at Chartres he discoursed with Henry, King of England, who came to meet him, whom he endeavoured, with many arguments, to persuade to undertake an expedition against the Saracens. Hence he took a turn into Lorraine, and finding Lotharius newly made King of the Germans at Liege, who made him many large promises of assistance towards his restoration, he made him take an oath, that he would make such sufficient preparations for the enterprise as that he should return to Rome with security. After this, having held another council at Rheims, and upon his return into Italy one other at Piacenza, he came to Pisa, where he composed the animosities that had long been between the Pisans and Genoese. He also raised the bishopric of Genoa, which before was in the province of the Archbishop of Milan, to an archbishop's see, to which he subjected three Bishops of Corsica and the Bishop of Bebio. The same he did by that of Pisa, making it an archbishopric, with jurisdiction over the other three Bishops of Corsica and the Bishop of Populonia. Lotharius, by this time, was come into Italy with a great army, which having by the Pope's advice divided with two distinct bodies, he marched to the city; where, making himself master of Janicolo, he entered that way, while Innocent, with another party, by another way crossing the River Anien over Ponte Mamolo, gets into the Lateran, the anti-Pope not appearing at all; so that Lotharius, with marvellously good fortune, quashed that faction, and as much as in him lay took care that Innocent should not thereafter be disquieted by them. The Pope was so extremely obliged by these great services of Lotharius, that Henry being now dead, he created him Emperor of the Romans and crowned him with an imperial diadem. Which done, Lotharius returned into Germany, to reduce the Leutici, then in rebellion; but while the Pope called a council at Pisa, to consider of the state of Christendom and of the preservation of religion, the anti-Pope, who was condemned in this council also, with the assistance of Roger and some factious people, again bestirs himself against the Pope. Hereupon the Emperor Lotharius, having repressed his own rebels, once more advances towards Rome with his army, and the Pisans, on the Pope's behalf, fit out a powerful fleet; and with these forces they not only quelled the sedition at Rome, but attacked Roger so stoutly,

both by sea and land, that they stripped him of all that he held in Italy, and drove him to his own Sicily in a short time. John, Emperor of Constantinople, who had no kindness for Roger, hearing of these great successes, sent ambassadors to congratulate Lotharius upon that occasion; one of which embassy was a sophister, who would undertake to prove that the Latin Church professed a great error in declaring contrary, as he said, to the opinion of the Nicene Council, which was that *the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father*, that the said *Holy Ghost did proceed from the Father and the Son.* But among those who managed the controversy was one Peter, a deacon, a learned man and a great disputant, who replied thus: "If the Latins," says he, "are to be condemned because they add that the Holy Ghost proceeds *from the Son* also, why are not the Greeks much more to be condemned who say the Holy Ghost proceeds *from the Father alone;* whereas the council said no more than that it *proceeded from the Father?*" The bold man was so gravelled with this acute answer that he laid down the controversy and disputed no more. The Emperor Lotharius being about to depart, and Innocent fearing that when he was gone Roger would attempt to regain what he had lost in Italy, he created Rainulph, one of Lotharius's commanders (left by him to secure the country with some troops), Duke of Apulia. The anti-Pope soon after died, and was buried privately by his friends, and the cardinals who had been his sectators were reconciled to the Pope, so that the Church seemed to be in a likelihood of enjoying a little tranquillity; when on a sudden some citizens of Rome, seeking to enlarge their power by tumults, set up several senators of their own to take into their hands the whole government of the affairs and territories of the city. In the midst of this struggle the Pope died, having been Pope fourteen years, seven months, and thirteen days. At which time were in great esteem Gilbert, an Englishman, a person of so great knowledge that he was called the universal scholar, and Ambert, Archbishop of Rheims, not inferior to his master, Gilbert, for parts and learning. That piece of Mosaic work which is still to be seen in the vault of St Mary in Trastevere was done by this Pope.[1]

[1] [The great council of the Lateran, held in 1139, was the most numerous that had ever yet been held in the church. There were 1000 bishops,

## CELESTINE II.

### 1143-1144.

CELESTINE the Second, at first named Guido, cardinal priest of St Mark, a Tuscan, born at Citta di Castello, called by the ancients Tiphernum, was by universal consent chosen Pope in the room of the deceased Innocent, at the time when Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, dying, Fulk, Earl of Anjou, his son-in-law, succeeded him in that kingdom, which, with the help of his two valiant sons, he defended stoutly for some time. For when the Turks who inhabited near the Persian Gulf had made incursions into the territories of Antioch, he not only defeated them, but slew three thousand of their number and took as many prisoners; which loss so enraged Alaph, the Turk, that, with some Babylonian auxiliaries, he sat down before Edessa, a city of Mesopotamia, called by Jews Arach (which we told you Baldwin had begged of his brother Godfrey), and took it, the barbarians plundering and spoiling all without mercy, putting all those Christians to the sword who would not deny the faith, and ravishing the principal women, even upon St John Baptist's altar, because they knew it was had in high reverence by the Christians. But while an army was raising, King Fulk (I know not by what ill-luck) fell from his horse as he was riding too rashly after a hare, and died of his fall, to whom Baldwin, the third of that name, succeeded in the throne. And Celestine, after he had sat five months, died, and was buried in the Lateran. He was happy in one thing, that he was not pestered with any seditions in his pontificate, which yet, perhaps, is to be attributed to the shortness of his time.

five from England, and countless abbots. In this council was formulated the feudal superiority of the Pope over all the clergy, and the bishops had unlimited power over their subordinate clergy, so that they could even deprive them for irregular dress. For a layman to strike a clergyman was held to be sacrilege, only to be absolved on the death-bed. But the most important act of the council was the condemnation of Arnold of Brescia.—ED.]

## LUCIUS II.

### 1144-1145.

LUCIUS the Second, a Bononian, his father's name was Albert, came to the Popedom at that time when the news of the taking of Edessa was brought to Italy. This Edessa was the city to which Holy Scripture says, Tobias sent his son, and which the Apostle Thaddæus converted to the faith of Christ, being since honoured with the relics of St Thomas, and hence it was that Abgarus, king of the place, sent a letter to our Saviour, to which He vouchsafed to write an answer with His own hand. Upon the tidings of this great loss, Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, a personage famous for sanctity and learning, as I have said before, took to heart the defence of Christianity, and by letters and messengers animated all Christian princes to take upon them the Cross and Banner of Christ against the Saracens; and prevailed upon Conrad of Schwaben, who had succeeded Lotharius in the empire, to engage in the expedition. While provision was thus made for the defence of the Christian religion, in France and Germany, Roger, by the Pope's negligence, returns into Italy and regains all that he had lost without meeting any resistance, which success gave him so much courage and strength, that passing with a fleet into Africa, he so plagued the King of Tunis, that to buy his peace, he made him promise him a yearly tribute, which he paid for thirty years afterward. Conrad having in the meanwhile got together a great army under the Cross, marched to Constantinople, where Emanuel II., Emperor of the Greeks, over-persuaded him to take his journey straight on to Iconium, without taking care of provision, assuring him that himself would supply the army with whatsoever should be necessary. Whereupon that city, well fortified both by art and nature, was closely besieged a great while, but the wicked emperor showed them a Greek trick, and mixed lime with their meal, with which the bread was made for the whole army of the Christians, and this killed so many of the soldiers, that they were forced to raise the siege and return into France, without having done anything. Some advantage yet this expedition may be said to have given the Christians, because King Baldwin IV. of Jerusalem took

such courage upon it as to besiege and take by storm the city of Ascalon, having also a little before rebuilt the ancient city Gaza, (then almost deserted by the enemy) giving it for a dwelling-place to the Knights Templars. Beside the same Baldwin gave a bold repulse to some Turkish chieftains who infested the inhabitants of Jericho, of whom in one single battle he is said to have killed five thousand. Moreover, Noradine, governor of Damascus, invading the territories of Jerusalem, was met withal by Baldwin, and totally routed, so that in the pursuit the Christians were with much ado kept off from entering the city of Damascus pell-mell with the enemy. But to return to Pope Lucius; he omitted no care nor pains in promoting that so considerable and necessary expedition; and, I suppose, he was much the more concerned in his mind for it, because before he was Pope he was Cardinal Priest of St Cross in Jerusalem, the church whereof he almost wholly rebuilt. By his approbation, a national council was held in France of several bishops and abbots,[1] against Peter Abelardus, a peripatetic philosopher, and a very learned man, who had maintained some heterodox opinions; but was in the presence of King Lewis, so effectually convinced, that he not only changed his mind, but took upon him the life and order of a monk, and afterward, together with some of his scholars, led a most holy life, secluded from the world in a desert place. Lucius, after he had been Pope eleven months and four days, died, and was buried in the Lateran.

## EUGENIUS III.

1145-1153.

EUGENIUS the Third, a Pisan, Abbot of St Anastasius, having been chosen a monk by that holy man Bernard, was created Pope in the Church of St Cæsarius; for when the cardinals could not well agree whom to choose out of their own number, moved by an impulse from above, they pitched upon this most religious man Eugenius. He, finding the Romans would be urgent upon him with threats, to procure

[1] [The Council of Seus, at which Abelard was condemned, was held in 1140.—Ed ]

his confirmation of their senators, fled by night to Sabina, accompanied by the College of Cardinals, and was consecrated in the Monastery of Farfa; and despising not only the big words of the Romans, but defying the worst they could do, he drove those senators to such a strait, that he forced them to resign their offices. Hereupon he returned to Rome, but perceiving the citizens were reconciled to him only out of design and not heartily, and being afraid lest some trap should be laid for him, he escaped to Tivoli, the Romans throwing at him darts and other missile weapons as he departed. [They were excited to do so by Arnold of Brescia, who, after his condemnation at the Lateran, had persuaded the Romans to resume the constitution of Ancient Rome.] After this Eugenius went to Pisa, and from thence by sea to France, where he persuaded King Lewis to engage in the holy war against the Turks and Saracens, who, arriving at Constantinople, was no better used by the Emperor Emanuel than Conrad of Schwaben had been before him, for Lewis, taking his advice to pass through the deserts of Syria at a very unseasonable time, was reduced to such extreme necessity, that he was compelled to march his army (harassed with the bad way and want of all things) to Antioch, without entering upon any action. This falsity of Emanuel procured him the enmity of Roger, King of Sicily, who mans out a navy for Greece, and seizes from him the island of Corfu, Corinth, Thebes, and Eubœa, and had gone up to Constantinople itself, if the Venetians had not equipped a fleet of sixty galleys to hinder his design. Roger therefore, as God would have it, turns to the coast of Asia, where the Saracens' fleet had blocked up Lewis, King of France, (then intending to set sail for Palestine from Porto di St Simon), and having got them at an advantage, sets upon them and routs them, delivering by this means this Christian king and his army from destruction. In the meantime, the Venetian fleet, which was altogether on Emanuel's side, retakes all those places which Roger had possessed himself of, but had been left by him unfortified and without garrisons. Roger, then leaving King Lewis at Joppa, sets sail directly for Constantinople, where he burned the suburbs in the very sight of the emperor, and carried his victory so far, that for some time he besieged even his palace, and with his own hand gathered fruit out of his garden. But having got his fleet together in order to return into Sicily, he

fell unawares upon the Venetian navy, which was ready prepared for a battle, and was by them defeated with the loss of twenty of his galleys, himself hardly escaping by flight. While these things were doing, Conrad, Lewis, and Baldwin, with joint forces and courages attacked Damascus, which city was built by the servants of Abraham, in a champaign country, and naturally subject to drought, but by art rendered fertile and plentiful; for the ground is watered by channels and guts dug in the earth, and by that means made to abound with all things. There is but one small river in that country, which, running not far from the city walls, makes a little tongue of land in which their camp was pitched, whereby they easily could hinder the citizens from fetching water, but a certain Assyrian, to whom in difficult matters Baldwin was wont to give great credit, over-persuaded him to remove his camp to the other side of the town, pretending that it might with more ease be there expugnable, because the walls were not so strong, which was no sooner done, but those of Damascus possessed themselves of the place where our men had encamped, and, having entrenched themselves, stopped all the water and provisions that the Christians wanted, so that being pressed with hunger and thirst, they were forced dishonourably to raise the siege, from which Baldwin went to Jerusalem, and Lewis and Conrad took their march to Europe, whither they returned A.D. 1149 with their armies, which by several accidents were very much shattered. Eugenius, after having (as aforesaid) stirred up the Christians to this expedition, returned to Rome, where he was pompously and heartily entertained by the citizens, and published an amnesty against those who had rebelled against him. Having recovered Terracina, Sezza, Norba, and Rocca di Fumone, places which had been seized from the Church by several lords of the adjacent country, he retired to Tivoli for his diversion, where soon after he died, having sat in the Papal chair eight years, four months, and twenty days. His body was carried to Rome and buried with great state (as reason good) in St Peter's Church. By his order and at his charge the Portico of St Mary Maggiore was built, or rather re-edified, as appears by the inscription.

## ANASTASIUS IV.

1153-1154.

ANASTASIUS the Fourth, a Roman, Conrad, son of Benedict, was before Abbot of St Ruffo in Velitro, and Bishop of Sabina, and now of a cardinal was made Pope at that time when Alphonso, King of Spain, died on his return from the Holy War, to whom succeeded his son Sanctius, who soon after being slain in the Christian quarrel in a battle in Arabia, his brother Ferdinand succeeded him in the throne. Anastasius having obtained the popedom, gave a chalice of most excellent workmanship and vast price to the Lateran Church, and in a short time raised a noble structure near the Pantheon, now called St Marca Rotunda, and many other things he designed for the honour of the Church and the ornament of the city, if he had lived a little longer. Great expectations men had entertained concerning him, and hopes that his goodness, together with the learning of Richard de St Victore, his contemporary, would vindicate those times from obscurity and ignominy; for Richard was then a famous doctor, and wrote many things gravely and copiously, particularly a book concerning the Trinity, besides that he was an eloquent as well as a profound preacher. At this time almost all Europe was afflicted with famine, which put our Pope upon acts of charity, which he performed liberally, both openly and in secret; but he died when he had been Pope one year, four months, and twenty-four days, and was buried in the Lateran in a tomb of porphyry.

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## HADRIAN IV.

1154-1159.

HADRIAN the Fourth, an Englishman, Nicolas Breakspeare, born near St Albans, in Hertfordshire, having been sent into Norway to preach the Gospel, he converted that nation to the Christian faith, and was therefore by Pope Eugenius made Bishop of Alba and cardinal. Upon the death of Anastasius, being elected Pope, he was applied to by the Romans, both with prayers and threats, for an investiture of

their consuls in the absolute administration of the government of the city, but he positively refused; and the clergy of Rome desiring him to go to the Lateran to be consecrated, he also denied so to do, unless Arnold of Brescia, who had been condemned for a heretic by Eugenius, were first expelled the city. This so enraged the people that they set upon the Cardinal of St Pudentiana in the Via Sacra as he was going to the Pope, and gave him a wound or two. This the Pope took so ill that he set them under excommunication, till at last they changed their minds, and both banished Arnold and forced their consuls to lay down their offices, leaving to the Pope the absolute power of governing the city. Meantime William, King of Sicily, who succeeded Roger, takes the suburbs of Benevent, and both Ceperano and Bauco from the Church, which so enraged the Pope, that he anathematized him, and absolved all his subjects of their allegiance, that so they might be at liberty to rebel. But at this time the Emperor Frederick I. of Schwaben [Barbarossa], was entered into Lombardy with an army, and besieging Tortona, which had revolted from the empire, he took it by force, and thence with great speed he continued his march towards Rome. The Pope was then at Viterbo, from whence he went to visit Orvieto and Civita Castellana, places belonging to the Church, to confirm them in their allegiance; but finding himself unable to cope with the imperial army, by his nuncios he struck up a peace, and met the emperor near Sutri, who, alighting from his horse, addressed him with all that ceremony which was due to the true Vicar of Christ. [The terms of peace were easily found in the common hatred which Kaiser and Pope bore against Arnold of Brescia, who had denounced the tyranny of both. He was handed over by Frederick to Hadrian, who had him slain, and his ashes cast into the Tiber.] From Sutri the pontiff and emperor went to Rome, where Frederick was to be crowned by the Pope in St Peter's Church, but the gates being shut lest any tumult should happen between the citizens and the soldiers, the Romans yet broke forth by Ponte St Angelo, and set upon the Germans (whom they looked upon as of the Pope's side), and killed many. This insufferable riot angered the emperor so, that having brought his army, which was encamped in the Prati di Nerone, into the city, he drove the Romans from the Vatican, and slew and took prisoners multitudes of them, till, being appeased by the intercession of the Pope, he let those he had

taken go free. But when afterward, according to custom, the Pope and emperor were to go together to the Lateran, and found it would be unsafe because of the seditious humour of the citizens, they went first to Magliana, and there crossing the river, they passed by the way of Sabina and Ponte Lucano to the Lateran, and performed the coronation with the usual solemnity. While matters went thus at Rome, those of Tivoli surrendered themselves to Frederick, professing a perfect submission; but when he understood that it was a part of St Peter's patrimony, he restored it to Hadrian, and without any long stay returned into Germany. The Pope also, at the request of the great men of Apulia, removed to Benevent, where, by his presence alone, he regained from William to the Church a great part of his kingdom. [The result was that the emperor's indignation again broke out, and he showed it by forbidding any German ecclesiastic to visit Rome, as well as by publishing a proclamation in which he called the Pope an insolent stirrer up of strife. The Pope retorted by calling him a blasphemer. Awkward attempts were made to restore peace, but the breach widened continually, and, in fact, Hadrian, at the time of his death, was about to formally excommunicate him.] In the meantime Palæologus, an illustrious personage, came ambassador from Emanuel II., Emperor of Constantinople, first by sea to Ancona, and then by land to Benevent, with an offer to the Pope of fifty thousand pounds in gold, and a promise to chase William out of Sicily, if upon the good success of the expedition, three maritime cities of Apulia might be put into his possession, which no sooner came to William's ear but he sued for the Pope's mercy, promising not only to restore what he had taken from the Church, but to add somewhat more, and that he would employ his force to constrain the rebellious Romans to their duty, if he might be honoured with the title of the King of both Sicilies. The Pope could not grant this, because several cardinals opposed it; wherefore William, getting a good army together, enters Apulia after a hostile manner, destroying all with fire and sword, and setting upon the Greeks and Apulians who were encamped near Brundusium, he easily overcame them, upon which those of Otranto and Apulia immediately made their submissions to him. The Pope then was very angry with those cardinals who had opposed the peace before, and took William into favour, and gave him the

title of both kingdoms, he having first taken an oath thereafter not to attempt to do anything which might be a detriment to the Church of Rome. Matters being thus composed to his mind, the Pope taking his journey through the countries of Cassino, Marsi, Reati, Narin, and Todi, came at last to Orvieto, which place he was the first Pope that made his habitation and beautified. He was afterward by the earnest entreaties of the Romans persuaded to go to Rome, but being here affronted by the consuls, who would be setting up for liberty, he went to Anagni, where, not long after, he died, having been Pope four years and ten months, leaving the estates of the Church in a very good condition; for he had built several castles on the lake of St Christina, and so fortified Radifano with a wall and citadel that it was almost inexpugnable. The history of these times was written in an elegant style by Richard, a monk of Clugni, much quoted by other writers. The body of Pope Hadrian being brought to Rome, was buried in St Peter's Church, near the sepulchre of Pope Eugenius. [It proves the respect in which he was held, that even the ambassadors of his antagonist Frederick were present at his funeral.]

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## ALEXANDER III.

### 1159-1181.

ALEXANDER the Third, born at Siena, his father's name Ranuccio, upon the death of Hadrian was by the suffrages of twenty-two cardinals chosen Pope, though other three cardinals set up Octavian, a Roman, cardinal of St Clement, by the name of Victor, which gave beginning to a schism. But Alexander, lest the Church of Rome should suffer by the continuance thereof, despatched legates to Frederick the emperor, then laying siege to Cremona, to desire him to interpose his imperial authority in extinguishing the sedition. He returned for answer that both Popes should betake themselves to Pavia, whither he would come and hear their case debated. Upon the receipt of this answer, Alexander went to Anagnia, and Octavian to Segna. This the emperor took so heinously, that he sent two bishops to Alexander, to cite him before a council, by the name of

cardinal and not of Pope. Alexander stood upon his right and rejected them, whereupon they went to Octavian, and brought him to Pavia, with intent to set him up against Alexander, which they did, for, holding a council, Frederick confirms him in the Papacy, leads him, sitting upon a white horse, through the streets of Pavia, and performs the usual adoration to him. Alexander was much moved at this, and having first admonished them to no purpose, he sets them both under an anathema, and writes letters to all the princes and nations of Christendom in justification of himself for so doing. Then returning to Rome in the second year of his pontificate, he finds he had many adversaries there, who took the boldness to oppose him, because Frederick's army had now possessed themselves of all St Peter's patrimony but Orvieto and Anagnia; wherefore Alexander, by the persuasion of King Philip of France, went to Terracina, and there embarked in a ship provided for him by order of William, King of Sicily, and arrived in France, where, in a council held at Clermont, he pronounced the anathema before laid upon the emperor and Octavian. While these things were doing in Europe, Baldwin III. died at Jerusalem, and his brother Almeric stepped into the throne, lest if an interregnum should have been among so barbarous and treacherous a people, it might have given occasion to some mischievous revolution; and having settled his affairs for the time, he led his army against the Egyptians, and defeated their General Drogon with a great slaughter, he laid siege to Alexandria, of which Tiracino, lieutenant to the Sultan of the Saracens, had traitorously made himself lord; which siege he urged on with so great diligence that the Alexandrians could hold out no longer and yet were not willing to be made subject to the Christians, but offered to yield upon condition they might be freed of this new lord, and be restored to the dominion of the Sultan. Almeric was content, and receiving a vast sum of money, redelivered the city to the Sultan, who ungratefully put off the performance of the full bargain, which caused Almeric to march against him and to lay siege to Cairo. Meantime in Europe Frederick acts very tyrannically, for he sacked Tortono and laid Milan even with the ground (from whence he translated the bodies of the Magi to Cologne, of which, I think, Rodolphus was then archbishop) and did great mischief to the Cremonese. Upon this those of Verona,

Vicenza, Padua, and Venice resolved unanimously to stop all manner of assistance that Frederick should stand in need of, while he thus harassed Lombardy. This angered Frederick so that he was about to invest Verona with his army, but hearing that the other cities had sent thither their auxiliary troops, he retreated to Pavia, from whence by letters and ambassadors he exhorted the King of France, that to put an end to the schism, he would bring Alexander before a general council, where also he would appear with Victor. The city of Dyon, situate where the river Savo divides France from Germany, was the place appointed for the council, whither Frederick (having composed his affairs in Italy for a time) arrived, together with Octavian and the kings of Scotland and Bohemia, and attended by great numbers of armed men. But when Alexander refused to go to that council which himself did not call, but had begun another at Tours, Frederick, full of rage and threats, returns into Germany, having sent Octavian into Italy, intending speedily to follow him; but he dying at Lucca, Guy of Crema was set up for anti-Pope in his stead [1164]. The Romans having now chosen consuls who were friends to Alexander, they immediately recall him out of France, and he taking ship arrives first in Sicily, and thence comes to Rome, where he was very kindly received with universal acclamations; and the people of Lombardy were, by the arrival of Alexander, put in hopes of retrieving their liberty, so that they took up arms against Frederick, who had used them so tyrannically, and drove several of his garrisons out of their towns, A.D. 1165. Frederick hereupon marches with a numerous army into Italy, and without doing damage to any one, contrary to all expectation, enters the territory of Bononia, where he divides his army, and sends some battalions to Lucca, to be a guard to the anti-Pope who then resided there, whilst he invests Ancona with his army, and after a siege of some time takes it. In the meantime the associated cities of Lombardy re-edify Milan and fortify it, and receive those of Lodi, who had been enemies to the Milanese, into their confederacy, the more to enable them to resist Frederick, if he should invade them. But Frederick had somewhat of greater moment to think of; for upon the death of William, the Norman King of Sicily, Emanuel, Emperor of Greece, had sent ambassadors to the Pope to offer him a great army to be employed against Frederick, and to promise a perfect agree-

ment of all the Grecians with the Church of Rome, that so the Eastern and Western Churches might be all one, if he would suffer the Roman Empire, then divided, to be again reduced into one body. What answer these ambassadors received is not certain, for by reason of a war then begun between the Romans and those of Tusculum and Alba, the Pope could not give them a positive resolution. The cause of this was that the Romans being too rigorous in the exaction of their gabels, the Tusculans and Albans denied to pay them, which enraged the people of Rome so, that they marched out, contrary to the Pope's will, against them tumultuously; but at that time Raino (who had been stripped of the dukedom of Apulia by Roger) bore the chief sway among the Tusculans, a man well skilled in the arts of war, who, sending for the German soldiers from Nepi and Sutri, made so great a slaughter among the Romans, that they afterwards had much ado to defend their walls, much less could they meet an enemy in the field Frederick took this occasion to avenge the wrongs (as he called them) which Alexander had done him, and leaving Ancona leads his army to Rome, and encamps in the Prati di Nerone, from whence he made an attack upon the Vatican suburb, but was stoutly repelled by the friends of Alexander. The next day he attempted to set fire to St Peter's Church, and had effected it if those who had the care of it would have suffered it, and the Pope not thinking himself safe in the Lateran, into which he saw the Germans would soon enter, removed to the house of the Frangipani near the Palladio. William, King of Sicily, son of the Great William, hearing of the Pope's danger, sent him a good sum of money and two galleys well manned, which came in good time, for Frederick having promised peace to the Romans, was very urgent with them, of the two Popes to choose the more worthy, and to depose and reject the other, which when Alexander knew must be done as the emperor should please, he embarked in the galleys and escaped first to Gaeta, and from thence to Benevent. Frederick afterward was driven from the city by a plague, of which both citizens and soldiers died like sheep, and as he marched back through Lombardy, the army of the confederate cities met him, and urged him to a battle, which he carefully declined, and arrived in Germany. When he was departed, the associates built a city at their common charge near Roueretto upon the river

Taro, which from the name of the Pope they called Alexandria, to inhabit which from all the cities they sent fifteen thousand men, dividing the ground equally among them, and setting out the dimensions of their streets and houses. The Romans yet regretted the slaughter made among them by the Tusculans and their friends, and therefore upon the departure of Frederick they took Alba and demolished it, and had done the like by Tusculum, if the Pope had not terrified them with threats and anathemas from doing so great a mischief. At this time Emanuel, Emperor of Constantinople, sent other ambassadors with greater promises than before, if the Pope could be brought to comply with his desire; to whom Alexander gave this answer, that he was not willing to unite what his predecessors had thought good industriously to disjoin. In the meantime Guy the anti-Pope died in St Peter's Church, which was still strongly garrisoned by Frederick, in whose room the seditious substituted John, a Hungarian, Abbot of Struma, who had before the repute of a thief; to him Raino (who was afraid of the Romans upon account of the mischief he had formerly done them) delivered up Tusculum, upon condition that he should have Monte-fiascone in lieu of it; but when Raino went to take possession of it, the inhabitants would not receive him, neither would the Tusculans submit to the anti-pope, upon which he returned to Tusculum, but was forbidden entrance. From thence, therefore, he went to Alexius, who was then at Verulı, and surrendered to him all his title to the place, which, when the Tusculans heard, upon mature deliberation by a public decree, they acknowledged their subjection to the Pope, and received him. Here it was that the ambassadors of Henry, King of England, were heard, when they came to clear their king of the false accusation of having conspired the death of St Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury. But the Pope not easily giving credit to the King's ambassadors, sent two cardinals into England with plenary power to examine the matter; to whom Henry paid so great respect, that though he was engaged in a war with Ireland, yet he came as far as Normandy to meet them. Upon debating the case, it came to this end, that Henry should by an oath (because the matter of fact was not clear) purge himself, and promise to do penance for the murder of that holy man, of which, though he were not guilty nor con-

scious, yet it seemed that the great spite and grudge he bore him in his lifetime, had given some occasion to the assassination; and, moreover, that he should raise and maintain two hundred soldiers for a year to assist the Christians in the holy land, that he should within three years himself, with what force he could raise, undertake an expedition to the same purpose; that he should conserve the ecclesiastical immunities in his realm, and not oppose any appeals that might be made by his subjects to the court of Rome All these conditions he having sworn to perform, he had (and he deserved it) the right and title to the Crown of England conferred upon him and his heirs with the Pope's consent. Hence it may be observed that all the English kings acknowledge themselves to have received the title to their realms of the Pope of Rome. But Alexander having long struggled with the Romans, offered them, if they would admit him into the city, to leave the whole civil government to their own managery, and to intermeddle only in religious matters, but this would not be granted by them, so he retired to Segna, and there being informed by the English ambassadors of the miracles wrought by St. Thomas [Becket] he canonized him. Frederick now returning into Italy by Moncenisi took Seculia by treachery and demolished it, he took also Asti, which surrendered for fear, and laid close siege four months to Alexandria, but received so much loss from the sallies of the besieged, that he grew weary of it, and on Easter day rose up from before it and went to Pavia, where a treaty for the peace of Italy was carried on by the mediation of the Pope, which the Venetians were willing to embrace, who, though they had been favourers of Emanuel before, yet had received from him a horrid affront contrary to the law of nations, for he had with red hot plates of brass blinded their ambassador, Henry Dandalo, by holding them before his eyes. Meantime Almeric, King of Jerusalem, raised his siege from before Cairo, though he was not without hopes of carrying the place, but was bought off with a great sum of money, and afterward marched against Ascalon, but was forced to quit that expedition, being in great want of provisions, and finding his soldiers to be very much tired and broken with the great and tedious toils of war they had undergone. He did not long outlive his return, but died and left his kingdom to his son Baldwin,

who, though he laboured with a dangerous leprosy, yet he managed his government with great constancy and wisdom. Alexander, thinking now to enjoy a perfect peace, made the new city of Alexandria a bishop's see, but soon after Frederick re-enters Italy with great forces and put all into confusion, till the Milanese, with the joint forces of the confederates, so broke his troops with frequent onsets, that in one of them Frederick's horse was killed under him, and he narrowly escaped with life himself; many of those of Pavia and Como being on his side were lost. The Bishop of Pavia also, because he took the emperor's part, was by the Pope deprived of his pall and the honour of bearing the cross. Frederick's great men thought these mischiefs happened to them because they persecuted the Church of God, and openly threatened to return into their own country and leave that wicked warfare, except he would be reconciled to the Pope speedily. A treaty then was begun for the peace of Italy, when Saladin, a person of great courage, succeeded Noradine then deceased, in the empire of the Saracens, who having taken and slain the King of Egypt, added that country and Syria to his dominion; not that his success was alike when he fought with the Christians, being defeated by Baldwin in two battles, one at Ascalon, and another at Tiberias, but soon after gathering his forces together, he marched into Cilicia to meet with Emanuel, whose army by a feigned flight he drew into narrow and difficult ways, where he set upon them and vanquished them, taking the emperor prisoner, whom he set at large again, upon condition that he should quit whatsoever he had taken in Asia. At this time Alexander was met at Venice by Frederick there to treat of a peace, where, in St Mark's porch, the emperor kissed the Pope's feet, and from thence they went together to the high altar, and having performed the mutual ceremonies of civility, they discoursed a great while upon the articles of the peace, which the next day was concluded. Hence the emperor with the good leave of the Pope departed first to Ravenna, and then to Bertinoro, which town he designed to keep in his hands because of the commodiousness of its situation, but the Pope at last persuaded him to restore it to the Church. Alexander also left Venice (having first made several presents, and conferred many honours upon that State for the services they had done him), and with

thirteen galleys of William, King of Sicily, and four of the Venetians, he sailed first to Siponto, and from thence to Troia and Benevent, and then passing St Germano he went to Anagni, where he stayed not long, but came to Tusculum to treat with the Romans about deposing the consuls they had set up before a peace should be concluded, but because the consuls had been so chosen for fifty years, it was found to be a difficult thing to alter the custom, wherefore they agreed that thereafter no one that was chosen consul should enter upon his office till he had taken an oath to be dictated by the Pope, that he would be true to the Church of Rome, and never attempt anything that should be a violation of the pontifical dignity. Thus all matters being settled, the Pope went the third time to Rome, all the great men of the city coming forth to attend and congratulate him; soon after he held a council in the Lateran, partly to find a way to reform the great licentiousness of that court, but chiefly that it might be decreed that no man, under pain of an anathema, should furnish the infidels with iron, wood, or any sort of arms. At this time died Emanuel, Emperor of Constantinople, leaving his son, Alexius, heir of his empire, under the guardianship of Andronicus, one of the blood royal, who for some years showed great prudence and fidelity in his public administrations; and by his consent the young emperor was married to Agnes, daughter to Philip, King of France. Baldwin IV., also, King of Jerusalem, to strengthen himself by the alliance, married his sister, Sibyl, to William, surnamed Long-sword, Marquis of Montserrat, an excellent soldier, not doubting but that, upon occasion, William and other princes of Christendom would come to his assistance if his affairs were in any danger. Meantime Alexander, after having undergone so many and continual labours, when now he seemed at rest from all his troubles, died at Rome when he had been Pope twenty-one years, nineteen days, having yet lived to see three anti-Popes go before him, who, with their factions, had almost destroyed the Church of Rome.

## LUCIUS III.

1181-1185

LUCIUS the Third, a Tuscan, of a noble family of the city of Lucca, was made Pope by general consent, at the time when Andronicus (who, we told you, was guardian to Alexius, having driven out the Latins who favoured the young emperor and drowned him in the sea, where he was wont for his recreation carelessly sometimes to venture in a little bark) usurped the empire of Constantinople; and to secure his empire thus unjustly gotten, he added another great wickedness, for in a short time he cut off all the nobility whose virtue rendered them suspected to him. Now also William, surnamed Long-sword, dying at Jerusalem, King Baldwin, taking care of his nephew, married his sister, Sibyl, again to Guy of Lusignan, a Picard, upon condition that after his own decease, Guy should enjoy the kingdom during the nonage of his nephew Baldwin, after which he should resign it to him; all which was confirmed by the Pope's authority, who thought it very necessary for the Christian cause that the princes of Asia should be knit together with the strictest bonds of amity and friendship, to enable them the better to resist the insults of the Turks and Saracens; but he was quickly after expelled the city of Rome while, by the favour of some citizens, he attempted to abolish the office of the consuls, and his friends in that affair being taken, had their eyes put out. Upon this horrid affront the Pope betook himself to Verona and called a council, where the exorbitant pride and licentiousness of the Romans were condemned, and all Christian princes were exhorted to afford assistance to the holy war, especially because Saladin had entered and wasted the territories of Jerusalem, encouraged by the dissension among the Christian commanders, who had turned out Guy of Lusignan for his arrogance from the government, and had substituted Bertrand, Count of Tripoli, protector in his room, so that all things seemed to threaten a civil war. But the Pope incessantly persuaded them, by letters and ambassadors, to lay by their animosities, and with one heart and the same mind to oppose the common enemy, at least so long as till fresh auxiliary forces could be sent to them. For, by the instance of Herac-

lius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, who came for that purpose first to Verona, and thence went to Philip, King of France, upon the same errand, a good number of soldiers under the cross were listed and sent away. But William, King of Sicily, in an ill time designing to revenge the wrongs offered to the Latins by Andronicus, Emperor of Constantinople, passing into Greece with his army, confounded all things; for he took Thessalonica, the chief city of Macedonia, by storm, and harassing many other of his territories, he took and plundered several cities, Andronicus not appearing against him, being hated of God and man for the many murders and banishments he had been the author of. The Constantinopolitans were hereby reduced to necessity and forced to fetch from Peloponnesus, and to set up for emperor, one Isaac, who was of the blood royal; and he overthrew Andronicus in battle, took him, and with various tortures put him to death. Upon which it became easy for Pope Lucius to persuade King William to make peace with Isaac, and with promises and rewards to prevail with him to turn his arms against the Asians; but while this matter was transacting by internuncios, this excellent Pope died, in the fourth year, second month, and eighteenth day of his papacy, at Verona, and was buried with great pomp before the altar of the cathedral church. This Pope had a great regard for his own country, and conferred upon it many advantages, both civil and spiritual, before he died; particularly he obtained of Frederick the emperor, with whom he all his time kept a peaceable correspondence, that the money of Lucca only should be current in Tuscany, as that of Pavia, with the imperial stamp, went only among the Lombards, which people by the means of this Pope were reconciled to the emperor. Ptolemy of Lucca writes that there flourished at this time Peter Comestor, who wrote the history of both Testaments, and Joachim, an abbot of a monastery which himself built at Calabria, famous for his learning and for his skill in divination, which he used to practise in doubtful and enigmatical terms.

## URBAN III.

### 1185-1187.

URBAN the Third, a Milanese—his father's name was John, of the family of Crivellis—was made Pope, applied himself to compose the differences between the Christian princes, lest they should be destroyed by the infidels, who would make use of that opportunity. For Baldwin IV., dying of a leprosy, the Count of Tripoli, who was made guardian to Baldwin V., could not enter upon his charge, because Sibyl, the child's mother, and Guy of Lusignan, her second husband, opposed him. The child, however, did not long outlive his uncle, but died within eight months after him, whose death his mother kept secret so long as till, what with gifts and what with good words, she had brought over the Patriarch and the chief men to her side, to make Guy their king. This Raimund, Count of Tripoli, highly resented, and that he might the more easily work his revenge, he made a truce with Saladin [1184]; by which means the provinces of Tripoli, Tiberias, and Galilee were torn from the Christians; for they were then subject to Raimund in right of his wife whom he had newly married; and lest a pretence for making war (which Saladin earnestly sought) should be wanting to him, the Prince of Monreal, a Christian, in whose dominion was a great part of the country beyond Jordan, and who was wont to supply in great abundance Jerusalem with corn, inconsiderately broke the truce with him. Saladin, looking upon the time to be come at last which he had so long desired, raised a great army of horse and foot, and stoutly assaulted Ptolemais, then garrisoned by the Templars. In this action the Templars got the better, but with the loss of their choicest men; for their grand master and many other of their most skilful and courageous soldiers were slain. Saladin hereupon reinforces his army, and taking courage from their distress, presses more hardly upon them. Raimund observing this, and not thinking good to give too much credit to Saladin, leaves his wife at Tiberias, and returning to Tripoli renews his friendship with King Guy, slighting his treaty before had with the Barbarians: so that Saladin, having a fair occasion to make war upon him, draws off from

Ptolemais and marches towards Tiberias. All the Christians then, but especially the Templars, urging that their army might march against Saladin, King Guy accordingly sets upon him in his camp, which was pitched in a pleasant place and well watered, but was repulsed, after which he encamping in an incommodious and extreme dry ground where the Christians suffered much by thirst, himself was forced to fight and was defeated with great slaughter. In this unfortunate battle most of the Christian commanders were taken prisoners, as were also King Guy and the Master of the Templars; many of whom were afterwards beheaded. Saladin having gained this victory, marches to Acre, which was immediately surrendered by the Christians, who were permitted to depart only with their clothes, and thence following his good fortune, he takes Berylus, Byblos, and all the towns upon the sea-coast, those of Ascalon only trusting to the strength of their fortifications, told him they would not yield to him except he were first possessed of Jerusalem. But the excellent temper and faithfulness of Saladin did the Christians much harm, for he was so affable to every one, that subjection to him was a desirable condition. He, notwithstanding the big words of the Ascalonites, invests the place, and after a siege of ten days had it delivered up to him, upon condition that he would set at liberty King Guy and the Master of the Templars, who were then his prisoners. That which made Saladin thus hasten the surrender of this place, was, he heard that Conrad, Marquess of Montserrat, was arrived at Tyre with the fleet of Isaac, Emperor of Constantinople, (whose sister he had lately married) under his command; and that William, King of Sicily, was expected in a short time with forty galleys. The tidings of these glorious successes of Saladin against the Christians coming to the Turks in the lesser Asia, so filled them with emulation, that they marched against Laodicea and took it, and from thence they invaded the territories of Antioch; but they were there vanquished by the Christians with as great loss on their side as the Christians suffered from Saladin. At this time Saladin had invested Jerusalem and carried on the siege with so great diligence, that those who were in garrison being out of hopes of succour, (after the taking of it by the Christians under Godfrey eighty-eight years) delivered it up, on condition that whosoever should be minded to leave the city should go freely, with so much and no more

than they could carry on their shoulders. The Christians who came forth of it went some to Tyre, some to Antioch, and some to Alexandria; from whence many sailed with the Sicilian fleet into Italy. Saladin having entered Jerusalem, first threw down the bells out of the steeples, and then profaned all the churches, but Solomon's Temple, which, it is said, he caused to be washed with rose-water before he would enter it. The Asiatic, Syrian, Armenian, Jacobite, Georgian, and Greek Christians stayed in Jerusalem by the permission of Saladin, who leaving there a strong garrison, took his way with great speed towards Tyre, the defence whereof by common consent and with the joint forces was entrusted with William, who with the help of the Sicilian fleet gave Saladin a repulse; but when the news came that that valiant prince was going to lay siege to Antioch, the Pope (who had laboured with his utmost might to hinder the loss of Jerusalem) going to Venice to take care to get a fleet together for the relief of it, died in his journey at Ferrara, having sat in St Peter's Chair one year, ten months, and twenty-five days. [His death was accelerated by the continued quarrel with Frederick Barbarossa. Hostilities had broken out between them in consequence of the refusal of the Pope to crown Frederick's son, and the consequent coronation by some German bishops, whom Urban had excommunicated in consequence.][1]

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## GREGORY VIII.

1187.

GREGORY the Eighth, a Beneventan, was created Pope by universal consent, and immediately despatched away nuncios and sent letters to all Christian princes, exhorting them to join with him with their utmost power to raise forces both by sea and land, to attempt the recovery of Jerusalem out of the hands of the enemy, which great end the better to carry on, he went to Pisa, there to compose some differences between the Pisans and Genoese, with design to excite them (both being powerful by sea) to that holy expedition But

[1] [See a very remarkable story concerning Urban's death in Milman, vol iii. p. 423.]

whilst this good man perplexed himself with over-much care in this matter, he died at Pisa, the fifty-seventh day of his Pontificate.

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## CLEMENT III.

### 1187-1190.

CLEMENT the Third, a Roman, son of John, surnamed the Scholar, as soon as he was made Pope, sent forth a bull to encourage men to go to the Holy War; for Saladin, following the course of his victories, had taken twenty-five towns in the principality of Antioch, and at last had by bribing the patriarch rendered himself master of Antioch itself. This gave the alarm to the Christian princes, so that now complying with the Pope's exhortations they raised men; the chief of those who engaged in the expedition were the Emperor Frederic, Philip, King of France, Richard, King of England, and Otho, Duke of Burgundy, beside many archbishops and bishops who accompanied them. The Venetians and Pisans set forth their several fleets well equipped; that of Venice was under the command of the Archbishop of Ravenna, and that of Pisa under their own archbishop; and William, King of Sicily, having cleared the sea of pirates, took care to supply them by the way out of Apulia and Sicily with all sorts of provisions. Beside these, the Frieslanders, Danes, and Flemings, with a fleet of fifty galleys, landing on the African shore, did the Saracens much mischief, taking and plundering Siluma, one of their cities. Bela, also, King of Poland, out of good-will to the Christian cause, made peace with the Hungarians, that so the passage through that country might be more easy and safe for those who were to take their way through it to this great expedition. At last they all arrived at Tyre, and from thence they marched unanimously to Ptolemais and besieged it [1189]; where Saladin, with a great army, came and beat up their quarters, so that, having the enemy before them and behind, they were forced to fight. The battle was long and bloody, and the victory inclined to the Christians' side, when the mischance of a horse slipping out of the hand of a common soldier, gave them an occasion of flight, our men thinking that

the Saracens had got the better; but Guy of Lusignan, who was left to guard the camp, in the nick of time giving a brisk onset, shocked their pursuit, and gave the Christians an opportunity to rally. However, it is certain the Christians lost two thousand men that day, beside that the master of the Templars and Andrew, Earl of Bremen, died afterwards of their wounds. In the meantime, the siege lasting long, the Christians were reduced to so great a want of all things, that they were forced to procure victuals of the enemy, which Saladin having notice of, laid hold on the opportunity and deserted his camp, which he left without any guard, but furnished with all manner of necessaries, which when the Christians altogether in disorder entered and fell to plundering, Saladin returned and killed many of them ere they were aware or prepared to receive him. Yet did not the Christians quit this tedious and toilsome siege, though to their other distresses this was added, that a dysentery raged in their camp, of which disease Sibyl, the wife of Guy, with two sons, which she had by him, all died. While matters went thus in Asia, William, King of Sicily, died at Palermo, not leaving behind him any lawful heir, so that the kingdom fell to the Church; but the noblemen of the island set up Tancred in his room, natural son of Roger the Norman by a concubine, a man of so great cowardice and sloth, that William would not believe him to be Roger's bastard. Pope Clement, not willing to lose his right, sends away an army thither with all speed, between whom and Tancred who opposed them, the country was filled with slaughters and outrages. Frederic, the emperor, was now by the way of Hungary and Thrace, marched with his army as far as Constantinople, in order to advance against the enemies of Christ, where Isaac, the Emperor of the Greeks, fearing his power, persuaded him to cross the Bosphorus, which he did; and Clement, still hastening him on by letters and nuncios, he sat down before Philomena, a city of the Turks, and took it, then he wasted the country about Iconium, and possessed himself of all Armenia Minor; but going one time into a rapid stream to wash himself without regarding the depth, he was drowned, and his soldiers retreating towards Antioch either were lost or died, so that his army came to nothing. The two kings, Philip and Richard, having passed the Gallic and Tyrrhene Seas, arrived together at Messina, after which they met with different fortune: for Philip had a good voyage, and

coming safe to Ptolemais, brought great strength and courage to the Christian forces; but Richard, being borne by contrary winds to the coast of Cyprus, and being by the Greeks denied the liberty of landing, he entered the island by force, and conquering it, he placed therein garrisons of his own, and then went to Ptolemais. That city was then stoutly attacked, but Saladin had put in it so strong a garrison, that with their frequent sallies they did the Christians much damage. Pope Clement now thought good to defer his controversy with Tancred, till the Christians should have more success against the Saracens, and betook himself to regulate some ecclesiastical affairs, and with great severity animadverted upon the scandalous lives of clergymen. Moreover, he built the Monastery of St Laurence without the walls, and with great expense repaired the Lateran Palace and adorned the church there with excellent mosaic work: not long after dying, when he had been Pope three years and five months, and was buried in the Lateran Church with great funeral pomp.

## CELESTINE III.

1190-1198.

CELESTINE the Third, a Roman, son of Peter, surnamed Bubo, succeeded to the chair, who grudging that Tancred should enjoy the kingdom of Sicily, secretly gets away Constantia (daughter to the late King Roger) out of a nunnery at Palermo, and though she was under the vow of chastity, yet granting her the apostolical dispensation, gives her to wife to Henry VI., son of Frederick Barbarossa, upon these terms: that he should be empowered to attempt the recovery of both the Sicilies, which he should enjoy in the name of a dowry with his said wife, paying a yearly tribute to the Pope, as feudatory of the Church. Henry was so sensible of this extraordinary kindness of the Pope, that he restored to him Tusculum, which he had before strengthened with a good garrison, which Celestine immediately bestowing upon the Romans, they so spoiled and ruined it, that the very stones of the demolished city were brought to Rome, and many of them were for a long time to be seen in the Campidoglio, as monu-

ments of this great devastation. Henry and his wife, Constantia, laying siege to Naples, were forced to raise it by reason of a plague which raged in their army, but the Christians who had now for two years besieged Ptolemais, had it surrendered to them upon condition that they (restoring that piece of our Lord's Cross, which we before told you was lost) should march out freely, every man with his own clothes, but when they could not make good the agreement, because the piece of the Cross was not to be found, Richard put many of the barbarians to death. Saladin was so dismayed at these losses, that, despairing of being able to defend them all, he dismantled several cities in that region and was upon the point of delivering up Jerusalem itself, if it had not been for a difference which arose between Philip and Richard concerning precedency, upon which Philip, pretending himself sick, departed home from Asia. Richard then applied himself more vigorously to the war, though at this time Conrad of Montserrat was assassinated in the market-place of Tyre, by two Saracen ruffians, who had bound themselves under an oath and vow to destroy all the enemies of their religion after the same manner, but as they ran away they were caught and put to death with the most exquisite torments, and Henry, Earl of Champagne, taking Queen Isabel to wife, entered upon the dominion of Tyre. Richard giving some fair words to Guy of Lusignan, persuaded him to pass over to him his kingdom of Jerusalem (which the kings of England still put among their titles), and herewith taking courage, he marched his army to beleaguer the city of Jerusalem; but Saladin in his journey falling in with his rear, forced him to a battle in a very disadvantageous place, in which though he at last came off conqueror, yet it was with great loss of men. Saladin after this encamped not far from Bethlehem, in a commodious place, to intercept any manner of provisions that might be sent from Egypt to the Christian army as they should lie before Jerusalem; wherefore and because the winter was coming on, Richard puts off his designs for this so necessary siege (the Pope yet urging him and continually supplying him with money) and retreats to Ascalon, which, as well as Gaza, he fortifies again, they having before been slighted by Saladin. In the meantime the sea forces by degrees leave him, and the Pisans sailing into the Adriatic, seized Pola, with intent to winter there; but the Venetians reinforcing their own fleet,

set upon them, took the place and sacked it, and drove out the Pisans, and had pursued them to extremity, if Celestine, out of care for the good of Christendom, had not mediated between them. Spring now came on and Richard was preparing for the siege of Jerusalem, when on a sudden news was brought him that King Philip had invaded Normandy, and intended to pass into England, to procure that kingdom for his brother John. Richard then laid by those thoughts and struck up a peace with Saladin upon these articles. That Saladin should enjoy all but Tyre and Ptolemais; to which with their territories remaining in the hands of the Christians he should give no molestation. Richard having thus settled affairs there, returning into Europe, was taken by his enemies, from whom he was ransomed with a vast sum of money, and at last arriving in England, he had many a battle with the King of France, much against the Pope's mind, who was grieved that so fierce a war should be raised among Christians at so unseasonable a time, when, Saladin being now dead, it was thought to have been a very fit time to have recovered Jerusalem. It is reported of that illustrious prince, that one ceremony at his funeral was this: His shirt was hung upon the end of a pike and carried before the corpse, and one with a loud voice cried, "Behold, Saladin, the mighty lord of Asia, of all his realms and of all his wealth, takes no more than this along with him." A spectacle well befitting so great a man, to whom nothing was wanting but the character of a Christian to have rendered him a most consummate prince. Upon the death of Saladin, as was said before, Celestine had fresh hopes that Jerusalem might be regained, and so urged the Emperor Henry, who (Tancred being dead) succeeded to the kingdom of Sicily, to undertake the enterprise, that though he could not go in person, yet he sent hither with great speed a good army under the Archbishop of Mentz and the Duke of Saxony. The King of France would have gone too, but that the Saracens who inhabited Mauritania (now the Moors) had crossed the straits, and having taken the King of Castile prisoner, had possessed themselves of that part of Spain now called Granada, where the French feared they would hardly continue long quiet but go near to infest the neighbouring nations, and therefore would not draw their forces out of Europe The Germans, however, arriving in Asia, fortified Berylus, which had been deserted by the Saracens, and raised

their siege from before Joppa, from whence they were about to go to Jerusalem, Celestine, this most holy Pope, who never let slip any opportunity for the recovery of the Holy Land, died, upon which they desisted. Notwithstanding all these troubles and these great charges of war, our Pope built two palaces, one near St Peter's, the other near St John in the Lateran, fit for the reception of Popes. The brazen gates yet remaining in the Lateran over against the Sancta Sanctorum, were made by his order and at his charge. Moreover, he made Viterbo a city, aising the church there to a bishop's see, to which diocese he added Toscanella and Centum-cellæ. Celestine died when he had been Pope six years, seven months, and eleven days, to the great grief of all good men, and was buried in St Peter's Church.

## INNOCENT III.

1198-1216.

INNOCENT the Third, born in Anagni, son of Trasimund, of the family of the Conti, was for his learning and many virtues made a cardinal by Clement, and upon his death was by general consent chosen Pope; which he had no sooner arrived to, but he applied his thoughts to the Holy War, and by letters, messengers, large promises and largesses endeavoured to contain the Germans within the bounds of their duty, who after the decease of their Emperor Henry, were all in a mutiny; but it was to no purpose, for they, disdaining any commander, left Asia, and to the extreme damage of the Christian cause returned to Europe, whereby those of Joppa especially suffered most, for being destitute of help, the Turks and Saracens came upon them, and while they were about to yield, they took the city by force and cut them all off, razing it to the ground. In Germany, also, all things seemed to threaten confusion, some of the electors sticking hard for Otho, Duke of Saxony, others standing resolutely for Philip, a German, Duke of Tuscany, who was left by Henry upon his death-bed, guardian to his young son; and to improve this mischief to the height, the King of France took part with Philip, and the King of England was for Otho. Innocent then,

to obviate the impending miseries that must follow upon such a state of affairs, confirms Otho in the empire, as duly elected by those who had just suffrage. Philip, notwithstanding, would not lay down his pretensions, but strengthened himself with good garrisons both in Tuscany in Italy, and Schwaben in Germany. The like with a more than womanly fortitude also did Constantia, the relict of Henry, in Sicily, on the behalf of her son Frederick II., yet a child, rendering the frontier places defensible against any enemy. Though these animosities every day grew higher, yet Innocent still thought of renewing the war in the Holy Land, and to that expedition he stirred up Boniface, Marquis of Montserrat; Baldwin, Earl of Flanders; Henry, Count St Paul; and Lewis, of Savoy,—who all arriving at Venice could not persuade that State to rig out their fleet for the service till they had all promised to recover Zara for them, which, again, was revolted to the Hungarians; the fleet then being fitted out, they first routed those of Trieste, who piratically infested the sea, and then after a long siege retook Zara. While these things were acted in the Adriatic, Alexius dethrones his brother Isaac, Emperor of Constantinople (who had been a good friend to the Latins), and putting out his eyes throws him in prison. But his young son, Alexius, escaped by flight to the Christian camp, and begs the assistance of those commanders for his father against the usurper, which they consented to give him, on condition that his end being achieved, the Greek Church should be subjected to the Latin, and that thirty thousand marks of gold should be paid for the damage which Emanuel, the late emperor, had done to the French and Venetians; and thus when they had agreed, they set sail from Zara, and passing by Candy, that island submitted itself, which young Alexius bestowed upon his kinsman, Boniface of Montserrat. Hence they proceeded to Constantinople, which, while they besieged by sea and land, Theodore Lascari, son-in-law to Alexius, endeavouring to sally forth, was driven back, and the city after two days' close siege was taken by storm. Alexius got away in the night, leaving behind him a great quantity of gold in the custody of Irene, a nun Isaac, the father, with his son Alexius, then entered the city, but lived not long after, the father dying of sickness, and the son being poisoned. Upon this, Boniface of Montserrat gets the kingdom of Thessaly, but wanting money, he was persuaded by Baldwin to sell Candy to the Venetians, which he did, and

having received a vast sum for it, he beleaguered Adrianople, then oppressed by the usurper, but this gave so much distaste to the Walachians, who live on the further side of the Danube, and to the Bulgarians, that, fearing the number of his enemies, he took his way to Constantinople, intending to go to meet the Turkish Sultan of Iconium, who having taken the city Satellia from the Greeks, did much and continually incommode the Christians. Innocent, encompassed thus with enemies, raised what forces soever he could to reinforce from time to time our armies, but when he heard that Hilminoline, a Saracen, with a great fleet had crossed the straits into Spain, and had sat down with his army before Toledo, he published a bull inciting all those that could bear arms to oppose this torrent; whereupon numbers of Frenchmen got together in order to assist the Spaniards, but perceiving they were not welcome to them, they returned home, so that Hilminoline in a short time overran all Spain after a hostile manner, and came as far as Arles and Avignon, filling all places where he came with spoil and slaughter. This calamity roused the four kings of Spain,—that is, of Castile, Aragon, Portugal, and Navarre, so that, joining their forces together, they set upon the Saracens, and gave them a total route, leaving nothing to them of what they had but only Granada. At this time sprung up a heresy at Toulouse, which, by Innocent's means, the blessed Dominic (who was afterwards made a saint) repressed, with the aid of Simon Montfort; for it had gone so far, that he had need of the help of the arm of flesh as well as of arguments and spiritual weapons. Meantime Otho, Emperor of the Romans, was everywhere worsted by Philip, and at last besieged by him in the city of Cologne, where he, making in person an unsuccessful sally, the citizens shut him out and surrendered to Philip, who yet did not long outlive the action, being soon after treacherously made away by the Count Palatine. Upon his death, the electors chose the Duke of Saxony emperor, named Otho IV., who the next year was crowned by Innocent at Rome. The Venetians now being very powerful at sea, and the State having great matters in hand, private men had leave to make themselves masters of what islands they pleased, provided they continued their allegiance to the Government, upon which many citizens entered upon several isles in the Ionian and Ægean Seas, and at the public charge were seized Corfu, Modone, and Corone. Otho having, as is aforesaid, received the imperial

crown of the Pope, against all justice and right, possesses himself of Montefiascone, Radicofano, and several other towns belonging to the Church, and then marches into the kingdom of Naples, designing to take that kingdom from Frederick II, who was young and, as yet, under guardians, which so angered the Pope that, having first admonished him without any effect, he excommunicated him at last, and deprived him of his imperial title, and the King of Bohemia, with the Archbishops of Mentz and Treves, by the persuasion of the Duke of Austria and Landgrave of Thuringia, chose Frederick, King of Sicily, then in the twentieth year of his age, emperor, in his stead. Otho hereupon returns into Germany to take care of his paternal estate, by which means Innocent had an opportunity to his mind to recover whatsoever he had taken from the Church. Those of Candy now rebelling against the Venetians, they were by force of arms reduced *An. Dom.* 1214, and brought into the constitution of a colony, many citizens being sent to live among them and to observe them. At this time Frederick II. came to Rome to receive the imperial diadem, but could not prevail with the Pope to bestow it upon him, so he returned into Germany, and there was by the Archbishop of Mentz crowned King of Germany, and then made an alliance and league with the King of France; which added so much to the strength of that king, that he invaded the realm of John, King of England, with such success that John was fain to make use of Divine aids as well as human force to resist him, by making his kingdoms of England and Ireland tributary to the Church of Rome, in the payment of one hundred marks yearly, which for some years after was performed. Frederick, now in pursuit of Otho, who had been totally defeated by the King of France, takes in Aquisgrane, and there, by authority received from Pope Innocent, he sets up the standard of the holy cross, promising speedily to march to the assistance of the Christians against the Saracens in Asia; beside, that he might show with what a grateful mind he had received so many benefits of the holy see, he gave the country of Fondi to the Church of Rome, and what had before been given and afterwards usurped from it, he restored. But the Pope, taking notice of the increase of the Saracens' power in Asia, called a full council in the Lateran, where were present the patriarchs of Jerusalem and Constantinople, seventy archbishops, four hundred bishops,

twelve abbots, eight hundred priors of convents, and the ambassadors of the Greek and Roman emperors, with those of the kings of Jerusalem, France, Spain, England, and Cyprus. Many things here came under debate, but nothing could be determined, because the Pisans and Genoese were then at war by sea, as those of Lombardy were among themselves at land. The Pope therefore took a journey thitherward to compose their differences, but died in the way at Perugia, when he had been Pope eighteen years, seven months, and sixteen days. He was a man most exact in his life, a proof of which is that none of his acts which approved or disannulled anything were by any of his successors reversed. He decreed many things for the reformation of manners both in clergy and laity, and wrote books concerning the Sacrament of the Eucharist, the Sacrament of Baptism, and the unhappiness of man's condition, beside that he was wont to make sermons upon remarkable occasions and solemn days. He disallowed a book written by Abbot Joachim, which contained some heterodox opinions; and condemned the errors of Almericus, a heretic, that with some of his followers was burnt at Paris, who, among other false notions, maintained that those ideas which are in the divine mind were created and did create others, whereas, according to St Augustine, there is nothing in the mind of God but what is eternal and unchangeable; beside, he said that to one who was in a state of grace no sin is charged. Great satisfaction this Pope took in observing the virtue and learning of St Dominic, who was founder of the Order of Preaching Friars, and of St Francis of Assisi, who was author of the Order of Friars Minors. It is said that in his time lived Gratian, who compiled the decrees, and Papias the Lombard, who collected a Latin Alphabetical Dictionary; and indeed of Papias we have no reason to doubt, but for Gratian, some authors place him in the times of Pope Alexander III. Now, lest you should think that Innocent in so long a popedom neglected works of piety, I must tell you that at his charge the Hospital of the Holy Ghost was built and endowed with so fair an income as it is for the relief of pilgrims and sick people, and for the education of fatherless children and foundlings. He adorned St Peter's altar with mosaic work, as the representation of him and his cipher in the arch do testify. Moreover, he gave to each church in Rome a pound weight in silver to make chalices for Divine

service, and he repaired the Church of St Sixtus, then almost falling with age. The enemies of his good name, indeed, say that he did this only for fear men should say that he laid out all his money in building of the Torre de Conti, which he erected for the honour of his family. However that be, it is certain he showed himself in all the parts of his life an excellent man and one worthy to be reckoned among the best Popes.

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## HONORIUS III.

### 1216-1227.

HONORIUS the Third, a Roman, son of one Almeric, was by a general suffrage chosen Pope; to whom Peter, Emperor of Constantinople, coming with his wife, Yolande, he was crowned in the Church of St Laurence without the walls, and immediately John Colonna, a cardinal, was pitched upon to go into Asia with those forces which Pope Innocent in his lifetime had got together for that end. The Christian princes, by the persuasion of Honorius, now went to Acre, particularly Andrew, King of Hungary, who to that purpose borrowed the Venetian shipping, and by way of requital passed over to them the right to all that part of Dalmatia which had been in the possession of the Duke of Austria. With Andrew went Henry, Count of Nevers, and Walter, chamberlain to the King of France All these, holding a council of war together with John, King of Jerusalem, they resolved to lay siege to Damietta in Egypt, and thither they went in the month of May, 1218. This city was once called Æliopolis, from Ælius Pertinax, who environed it with a treble wall, and deriving a little stream of the Nile about it made it stand in an island. The suburbs hereof were large and full of merchandise, which the Christian soldiers plundered; but soon after, upon a west wind, the Nile rose so high that their provisions were spoilt, and they began to be in great want of necessaries; especially because the Sultan, who was encamped not far off, had beset all the passages to hinder any supplies coming to them. The Christians under this difficulty march their army against the Sultan, who in great fear straight

leaves his camp, stored with plenty of all things, and retreats, leaving them free to besiege the town which he at first came to relieve. Cordirius, also, son to the great Sultan, despairing of being able to defend Jerusalem if the Christians took Damietta, broke down the walls of the city and left nothing standing but the tower of David and the Temple of God, only he did not violate the Holy Sepulchre, moved, as we may suppose, by the entreaties of the Christians that inhabited those places. While our men attacked Damietta, the Sultan returns with a much greater army, and pitches his camp between Cairo and Damietta: from which he could not be provoked to battle by either the challenges or reproaches of our men, which so enraged the French, that without any order they set upon him and received great loss. Notwithstanding all this, the siege was still pushed on, till, after fifteen months' lying before it, it was taken by the Christians and sacked; so that the soldiery was wonderfully enriched with the spoil. In the meantime Honorius had at Rome confirmed the Order of St Dominic upon his request, and had anathematised Frederick II. because (after his mother Constantia was dead, who was wont to restrain him within his duty) he came to Rome, and without right or reason laid waste the Pope's territories. These differences between the Pope and the emperor being discovered to the Sultan, moved him to take the opportunity, and accordingly he raises a greater army than ever he had before, thinking the Christians would not now show their heads; but Cardinal John Colonna roused them with his persuasions, so that they took up arms and went to meet the enemy at the Nile, where, when they were come, the Sultan feigned himself afraid to cope with them, putting it off till the time of the increase of Nile, which followed a little while after; and the cataracts of that river opened and so overflowed the whole country that it was in no place less than a cubit in depth. This so terrified the Christians that they were glad to accept of peace, upon condition that Damietta should be re-delivered to the Mahometans, the prisoners on both sides be discharged, and the piece of the Holy Cross then in the hands of those barbarians should be restored to the Christians, and they suffered to retire quietly to Acre and Tyre. Thus was Damietta, which was begun to be inhabited by the Christians, upon the feast of the purification of the blessed Virgin, delivered up according to the articles on the birthday of the same, *An. Dom.*

1221; in which year the Tartars, a nation of Scythia (or as others will have it, of the mountainous parts of India) leaving their own country, ravaged through Parthia, Media, Persia, Assyria, and came as far as Sarmatia; where not far from Palus Meotis, driving out the old inhabitants, they seated themselves. The Christian commanders finding at this time that nothing was to be attempted in Asia, the enemy being too powerful, they, together with John Colonna, returned into Italy, and were soon followed by John, King of Jerusalem, who came to Rome, and was by the Pope kindly entertained and had large presents made to him. Afterward he gave his daughter, which he had by his wife Yolande in marriage to the Emperor Frederick, though he was under the Pope's anathema, and passed over all the title he had by hereditary right to the kingdom of Jerusalem to him by way of dowry. Hence it is that all the succeeding kings of Sicily and Naples use the title of that kingdom also, though they make their claim to it with words only, and not with arms. John then took a journey into France, where he had better luck than he was wont to have, for Philip, King of France, bequeathed in his last will forty thousand pounds in silver to him, and as much to the Grand Master of the Templars, and with the help of this money he went into Spain to perform a vow he had made to St James of Compostella, where he took to wife Berengaria, sister to the King of Spain. This year died St Dominic, that holy man, at Bononia; and Frederick declared his son Henry, a boy but of ten years old, King of Germany. Our Honorius, being a little quiet from foreign troubles, repaired the Church of St Laurence without the walls that is called Sancto Sanctorum, and the Church of St Vivian; beside he built a Palace at Casa Marii, and adorned the cibory (altar-canopy or covering) of St Peter with excellent workmanship. He also compiled the Decretal epistles, and confirmed the Order of St Francis, who within two years after was canonized by Pope Gregory. After this blessed manner did Honorius lead his life, and as became a careful and a good shepherd, and dying when he had been Pope ten years, seven months, and thirteen days, he was buried in the Church of St Mary Maggiore. After his death there happened so great earthquakes that in the Monti Salvii five thousand persons were slain by the falls of houses and by the stones that were thrown into the vales from the tops of the mountains.

## GREGORY IX.

### 1227-1241.

GREGORY the Ninth, born at Anagni, a city of Campania, of the family of the Conti, and nephew to Innocent III., was created Pope at the Settizonio (a place in Rome so called from seven rows of pillars there placed by the Emperor Severus), which was no sooner done but he despatched away monitory letters to require Frederick the emperor, under pain of an anathema, that he should with the first opportunity march with his army into Asia, there to endeavour the recovery of the holy city. Frederick received the admonition, and indeed promised so to do; accordingly giving out orders that all who had entered themselves of the crusade should by a day appointed repair to Brundusium with their arms. Great numbers met there from all countries, particularly from Germany came the Landgrave of Hesse, who (waiting there for the arrival of Frederick out of Sicily, where he stayed and prolonged the time, feigning himself sick) died himself and a great number of his soldiers; and as soon as the news of his death was brought to Frederick, he then immediately set sail for Brundusium and seized into his hands whatsoever the Landgrave had left of value, which act plainly detected the fraudulence of his pretence. However, he continued to make the world believe that he was really intent upon the holy expedition, and after the rapacious action aforesaid upon the goods of the Landgrave, he hoisted sail and commanded the rest that were there to follow him; but in a little while after returned to Brundusium, forced (as he pretended) by the tempestuous weather. The noise of this expedition moved John, King of Jerusalem, and Berengaria, his wife (knowing well that they did what would be very acceptable to the Pope), to take a journey to Bononia, meaning to make use of some shipping of the Venetians to carry them to Asia, but the Pope understood well enough the tricks of Ferdinand and what little credit was to be given him, and lest John should quite lose his labour and come for nothing, he conferred upon him the government of the Exarchate of Ravenna, and ratified the sentence of excommunication which was pronounced by his predecessor Honorius III. against the Emperor Frederick, and had done

worse things against him, if himself had not been under some fearful apprehensions of an invasion from the Moors, who were then out at sea with a powerful fleet, but were afterwards vanquished by James of Aragon with so great loss on their side that in a short time he possessed himself of Majorca, one of the islands called the Baleares, and took the city Valencia, driving out the Saracens and compelling the inhabitants to receive the Christian religion. At last, yet Frederick was, what by the entreaties of his friends and the threats of the Pope, wrought upon to begin his voyage, sailing first to Cyprus, which afforded some hopes to the Christian soldiers that were in Asia, whom he had so often deceived. But while he stayed there sending out spies to bring him an account of the strength of the Sultan's forces, his general, Rainaldo, whom he had left in Sicily, invades the Pope's territories, and takes several towns in the Marca di Ancona. The Pope was then at Perugia, designing to go to Assisi, there in person to examine the truth of those reports which had been of miracles wrought by that holy man St Francis, and when he found what he had heard concerning him to be really true, he canonized him with great solemnity, in the presence of great numbers of Christian people who came together for that end. While these things were acting by the Pope, another commander of the emperor's, by siding with a faction, seizes Fuligno, but was quickly expelled by the power of some good men who stood up for the Holy Church. By this time Frederick was got to Acre, and from thence solicited the Pope earnestly, by letters and messengers, to be absolved by him, and promised, if he could obtain his request, to be ever after his most humble servant; but the Pope being well aware of the crafty temper of the man, not only warns the Christian soldiers to have a care of him as of one that was always plotting mischief; but having raised an army he sends it under John, King of Jerusalem, against Rainaldo, who then was harassing the Marca di Ancona, and filled all places with rapine and devastation; and with other forces under Cardinal Colonna he drove the emperor's lieutenant, with his mercenary Saracens, out of St Germans, and had all the places from thence to Capua delivered to him by surrender in a short time. These successes of the Pope so affrighted those of Umbria and Marca di Ancona, who had served under Frederick, that they deserted

whatsoever they held and retreated into Naples. In the meantime Frederick was returned from Asia to Brundusium, and being now very desirous of peace, offered his requests to the Pope, that he would please to take them into favour, to acknowledge him emperor, and a true feudatory of the Church for the kingdom of Sicily. Which he at last obtained, but not till he had paid down one hundred and twenty thousand ounces of gold for the use of the Church of Rome, to make good the damages he had done it, and these conditions he was forced to come to Anagni and there to implore of his Holiness. While Gregory, as became a faithful shepherd, was thus careful on all hands, and was gone to Perugia to settle matters in that city, then much disordered by some banished persons who were newly returned, there arose a greater sedition and heresy at Rome than had been known before. For Hannibal, of the family of the Hannibali, joining with some priests, was made use of to head the people of Rome in a conspiracy they carried on against the Church of God; but the divine vengeance speedily put a stop to their wicked designs; for the river Tiber, rising over his banks, did them much mischief, and this was accompanied with so devouring a plague, that hardly one man in ten was left alive The Pope coming to Rome behaved himself with wonderful clemency, and forgave the people of Rome their fault, only putting Hannibal out of the Senate, and convicting the priests of their heresy, he brought them to recant their error and to profess as true Christians ought to do. Then turning his thoughts to adorning the city, he caused the old common-sewers to be cleansed and repaired, and new ones to be made, at the same time yet consulting not only the ornament but the healthiness of the place Then leaving Rome for his health's sake, at Riete (as some will have it) he canonised St Dominic, who founded the Order of Friars Predicants, and at Spoleto, he did the same by St Antony, who was born at Lisbon, but died at Padua, and was the second after St Francis, head of the Order of Minors; hence he returned to Anagni, and fortified the circumjacent town, not a little apprehending the factious humour of the Romans, whose chief senator, after the ancient manner, had proposed a law to be made, and the people had passed it, that should oblige all the towns lying about Rome to pay a certain tax to themselves; the Pope hereupon fearlessly takes his journey to Rome (though the

cardinals dissuaded him), meaning to endeavour by admonition or correction to bring the Romans off from these insolences. But when he found it signified nothing what he did, he departed to Riete, whither also came the Emperor Frederick; and they having discourse about the present state of affairs, they both came to this resolution, that they would join their forces together and unanimously march against the Romans. But at this time (as he had always used to do) Frederick put a trick upon the Pope; for, returning himself into Germany, he left order with his men that they should in all junctures act as the Romans would have them. The Pope was much moved at this treachery of his, and proposed a good reward to any German soldiers who would leave their leaders and serve under him, whereupon so great multitudes came over to his side, that the Romans dared not anywhere show themselves in open field against the army of the Church. Gregory by this means having recovered the patrimony of St Peter and the Contrada de' Sabini, he slighted the ambassadors of the Sultan, who came humbly to sue for peace, and sent friars of the Order of St Francis and St Dominic throughout Europe, by their preaching to stir up the Christians to the war against the Saracens, by whose means greater numbers were got together than ever were before; and in the meantime that it was under debate who should command this great army, the Pope canonised Elizabeth, daughter to the king of Hungary, a most holy woman, and famous for the miracles wrought by her. At length Theobald, King of Navarre, Almeric Montfort, Henry, Count of Bari and Campania, with the Christian forces passing through Germany and Hungary, arrived first at Constantinople, where, crossing the Bosphorus, they came at last to Ptolemais, laying the country waste far and near. But they were not long after set upon by a vast army of the enemy, and compelled to retreat, defending themselves from their pursuers for two days, and there lost all their best men. Thus in a short time came this expedition to nothing, which had cost so much industry to be brought about, merely through the unskilfulness of the commanders. The Pope was extremely troubled at this calamity, and resolved to return to Rome (at the earnest instance of the citizens), there to put up prayers and supplications to appease the divine wrath, which the sins of mankind had provoked; but his intention was frustrated by Peter

Frangipani, who being of the imperial faction, opposed him; so he left Perugia and went to Viterbo to meet the emperor with an army, who (as intelligence was brought him) had already entered Lombardy, and without any just cause wasted the territories of the confederate cities, and was about to lay siege to some of them whose forces were almost broken already, having received one mischief upon the neck of another from Ezelino, who then lorded it over Padua. This Ezelino, surnamed the Roman, was grandson to a German commander (who under Otho III. led an army of his countrymen into Italy), and now having a body of men, which he received of Frederick, under his command, procured to himself a great dominion in the country of Lombardy, bringing under his jurisdiction Treviso, Padua, Vincenza, Verona, and Brescia, and Frederick not showing any regard to the stipulations and agreements which had heretofore been ratified between his ancestors and them, makes war upon the Milanese and the associated cities, and in a great battle fought between them at a place called Nova Corte, he overcame them with great loss on their side, which put the Pope so much out of hopes of success, that upon hearing this ill news of the misfortune of his friends and allies, he began to think of retiring to Rome, though his coming thither was opposed by one John Cincio, a potent citizen and senator, whose intolerable arrogance yet was so curbed by James Capocio, another Roman citizen, that the Pope was received into Rome with great splendour and magnificence. This was that James whose name is yet to be seen and read in the little chapel of mosaic work which was built at his charge in the Church of St Mary Maggiore, in which also was buried Peter Capocio, who was a cardinal of the Church of Rome, and while he lived a bitter enemy of this schismatical emperor Frederick, at whose expense the hospital of St Anthony, not far from the aforesaid church and the college for scholars at Perugia (now called la Sapientia), was also erected. Gregory having quieted the minds of men in the city, again pronounces an anathema against Frederick, and declares him to have forfeited his right to the empire, and deprives him of it; then he sends for the ambassadors of the states of Venice and Genoa (between whom there was so great a quarrel as it was feared a war would ensue) to mediate their differences, which he did so effectually as that he procured an agreement between them to

a peace, upon condition, that without mutual consent, neither of the two states should make peace with the emperor of Constantinople; that they should be enemies to the enemies of each other, and join their forces upon every occasion for the common defence, and this treaty to be in force and complied withal for nine years by them both, under pain of excommunication, to be denounced by the Pope upon the infractor. About this time died Baldwin, who, upon the death of John, had succeeded to the empire of Greece, and made shift to hold it for two years, but with so great difficulty, by reason of his poor treasury, that he could hardly defend himself from his enemies, being forced to deliver his son for a pledge to the Venetian merchants for money that he had borrowed of them, and to make money of the lead that belonged to the churches; beside, he sold to the Venetians, who were wealthy and able to purchase them, the spear with which our Saviour Christ's body was pierced, and the sponge which was reached to Him to drink out of. Frederick had a great spite at these Venetians, because they were on the Pope's side, and drove them into their marshes (where their city stands) for security, and did them great damage; but in the meanwhile happened a general revolt of the cities of Lombardy, by the procurement and instigation of Gregory Monte-longo, who was legate at Bononia, and Ferrara, which had revolted before from the Pope to the emperor, was retaken by them, though Salinguerra, a valiant commander, was in it and made a brave defence. As soon as it was taken, it was put into the hands of Azo, of the house of Este, who was a considerable person in this enterprise, to be governed by him in the name of the Church, *An. Dom.* 1240. This so alarmed the emperor, who was then at Pisa, that being under great uncertainty whom to look upon as friends to himself or wellwishers to the Pope, he divided first the cities of Italy into two factions, giving the name of Guelphs to those who were for the Pope's interest, and that of Gibellines to them that were for the imperial. These most pernicious names of distinction, invented surely for the mischief of mankind, were first made use of at Pistoia, where, when the magistrates expelled the Panzatichi, who were Gibellines, out of the city, there chanced to be two brothers, Germans; the one of which whose name was Guelph, was for the Pope, the other for the emperor, and his name was Gibel; from which these two parties were discriminated by

their different appellations. On the other side, those of Arezzo and Sienna drove out the Guelphs, whose example being followed by many other cities of Italy, gave occasion and rise to a worse than civil war. Several cities after this revolted from the Pope, as well in Umbria as in Tuscany, and particularly the citizens of Viterbo threw off their obedience. The Romans also would fain have been doing the same thing, but that the Pope, carrying the heads of the apostles SS. Peter and Paul, through the city in procession, moved the people to commiserate the state of the Church, and then making a most excellent oration in St Peter's Church, he had the power and good fortune by it to persuade even the seditious (who were ready to mutiny) to take his part, and to list themselves under the holy cross for the defence of the Church of God. These, when some time after Frederick came in hostile manner before the walls of Rome, gave him a repulse, which so enraged him that whatsoever prisoners he had taken he put to death with divers tortures, and retired towards Beneventum, which city he took by force, sacked, and dismantled it. Then returning by the Via Latina with his heart full of fury toward the city, by the way he plundered the monastery of Monte-Cassino, and turned out the monks ; he destroyed also with fire and sword the city of Sora, formerly belonging to the Samnites, situate at the head of the river Garigliano, and pillaged anything that belonged to the Templars wherever he could meet with it. He was so great a lover of the Saracens, that he made use of them rather than any other people in his wars, made magistrates of them, and gave them a city for themselves, which is called to this day Nocera di Pagani. He threatened the brother of the king of Tunis, because he was come as far as Palermo to receive the sacrament of baptism. By a sudden onset he also made himself master of Ravenna, which appertained to the Church. All which Gregory well considering, he appointed a council to be holden in the Lateran, there to find out means to depose Frederick ; but the emperor had so beset all the ways, that, with the help of the Pisans, he took several cardinals and prelates as they were travelling both by sea and land, and cast them into prison ; which so grieved the good Pope that he lived not long after, dying when he had been Pope fourteen years and three months. [Frederick published a proclamation hurling defiance at his memory, and declaring that his death

had delivered him from the emperor's righteous vengeance, and that he trusts that the next pontiff may love peace and put away discord.] There happened an eclipse of the sun a little before his death, greater than ever was seen. Raymond of Barcelona flourished in his time and assisted him in compiling his Book of Decretals, whom many authors so commend that nothing can be added to his praise.

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## CELESTINE IV.

1241

CELESTINE the Fourth, a Milanese, of the family of the Castiglioni, Bishop of Sabina, famous in his time for his exemplary life and great learning, being very old and sickly, was yet chosen Pope in the room of Gregory, but died on the eighteenth day of his pontificate, and was buried in St Peter's Church, to the great disappointment of all men, who hoped to see much better times under his government. After his decease the see was vacant twenty-one months; for those who were then in the highest authority in the Church of God did not think good to elect any man to the popedom so long as the cardinals which were taken by Frederick were detained in prison. During this vacancy of the holy see, Frederick overran the Marca di Ancona and Romagna as far as Faenza and Bologna, which after some resistance he took by force, and transferred the university, which was at Bologna, to Padua; and beside gave many troubles and did great mischiefs to all those that were looked upon as favourers of the Church's cause. Then Baldwin, Emperor of Constantinople, despairing of managing the Asian affairs to any purpose, together with Raymond, Earl of Toulouse, came into Italy, and what with his entreaties and by reason of the respect which Frederick (who was then at Parma) had for him, he procured that the cardinals and other ecclesiastical persons who were kept under custody by him should be set free, who in a little time after had a meeting at Anagni to consider of the choice of a new Pope.

## INNOCENT IV.

### 1243-1254.

INNOCENT the Fourth, before called Sinabaldo, of the family of the Fieschi, Counts of Lavagna, was created Pope at Anagni, at the news of which Frederick was not very well pleased; for he knew him to be a man of resolution and of a great spirit, they having lived together familiarly for some time before, and he was very much afraid he would call him to account for his past actions; so that, when some of his friends were complimenting him upon this occasion, he is said to have told them that Cardinal Sinibaldo was indeed his special friend, but now being made Pope he was his bitter enemy. Innocent, having put on the pontifical robes, comes to Rome, where by the way he is met by all the nobility and men of note and received with universal acclamations, and having performed all the ceremonies of the consecration and coronation which are usual in such cases, he begins to discourse of making peace with Frederick, Baldwin also interposing his authority to bring it about. But the business met with many delays, till after four months had been spent in negotiating, the result was this, that the Pope should remove to the city of Castellana, and tarry there a while till the emperor came thither also, personally to treat about the peace. But Innocent receiving certain information that Frederick had laid snares and ambushes for him both at Rome and in his way to that place, he made use of some shipping of the Genoese, which then lay in the port of Civita-Vecchia, and with a prosperous gale arrived in France, where at Lyons he was received very generously by all people and with great kindness, and at that city he appoints a council to be holden, *An. Dom.* 1245, to which he cites the emperor by nuncios and letters first, and at last by an officer for the purpose, setting him under a penalty if he were disobedient. In answer to this the emperor only sends thither a civilian of Sinuessa, to desire of the Pope some longer time, promising shortly to begin his journey thitherward, and so much time as was fit was allowed him. But his craft appearing, and that he only sought an occasion to scandalize and ruin the Pope, by universal consent he was declared to be deprived of his title to the empire

and his other dominions. [The Pope issued a proclamation calling on Frederick's subjects to revolt from him. The emperor retorted with a counter-manifesto, and for a while fortune seemed on his side, but presently it turned.] In his indignation he commanded the houses and palaces of some of Pope Innocent's kinsfolks (who by his advice were removed from Parma, where their estates lay, to Piacenza) to be pulled down, and then making a league with the Duke of Burgundy, he resolved to go to Lyons, and for that purpose he prepared a vast retinue, with which he came as far as Turin, where news was brought him, that those persons who had been banished from Parma were returned, and having defeated their fellow-citizens near the river Taro, had entered the city by force and made great slaughter of the contrary party. This caused Frederick to break off his intended journey and to return into Italy, where gathering into one army all his forces which had been dispersed through the whole country, he made up a body of sixty thousand men, and with these he marches to invest the city of Parma, which the associated cities being solicitous to defend, they put into it very great reliefs under the command of the Pope's legate; who having with great obstinacy sustained the siege for two years, at last making a bold sally, when Frederick expected no such thing, he utterly routed and destroyed his army and made himself master of his camp [1248], which was plentifully stored with all manner of necessaries, because Frederick had fortified it after the manner of a city with outworks, designing when he should have plundered and razed the city of Parma, against which he had conceived the utmost hatred, to build a city in the place where his camp stood (and where he had already coined pieces of money called victorines), and to name it the city Victoria. According to some authors, himself had much ado to escape to Cremona from this great defeat, in which he lost a crown of inestimable value and several vessels of gold of huge weight; but he durst not enter the walls of Cremona for fear of the Cremonese, many of whose fellow-citizens had lost their lives in that engagement. Innocent being advertised of this great blow given to the fortune of Frederic and that his heart was so broken with it, that he let himself loose to all manner of voluptuousness, and made himself gardens of pleasure, where he kept a number of beautiful women and eunuchs, he took pity upon the man, and dismissing the

councils without farther prosecution of him, he despatched nuncios through France and other countries to persuade the people to engage in the Holy War, and to follow Lewis, King of France, who was preparing for an expedition into Asia, which he had promised and vowed to perform when he lay under a fit of sickness But the Tartarians put a stop for a while to this journey, who, with two numerous bodies of men, had entered Europe and Asia; where those who invaded the latter, having passed through the countries of Georgia and Armenia, pierced as far as Iconium, then the royal seat of the Turkish princes: the other party which entered Europe, under the conduct of one Batto, ravaged all through Poland and Hungary, and then, turning toward the Euxine Sea, they depopulated the vast realms of Russia and Gazaria. At the same time the Grossoni, a people of Arabia, by the instigation of the Sultan of Babylon, set upon the Templars, and put them to flight, and without any trouble took Jerusalem, which was before stripped of its walls, putting the Christians that were in it to the sword, and dishonouring our Saviour's sepulchre with all manner of filthiness, the tidings of which moved Innocent to urge King Lewis to hasten his march towards Asia, with those forces he had already got together for that intent. He complied, and arrived at Cyprus, but it was at so unseasonable a time of the year, that he was forced to take up his winter quarters there; but as soon as spring came on, he sailed to Damietta, where he got the better of the Sultan's navy, and defeated his land forces, who would have hindered his coming on shore, where he pitched his camp for so long as till the rest of his troops could arrive from Italy. But these were very much retarded by the fury of Frederick, who, weaning himself after a while from the pleasures in which he had been immersed, takes up his arms again, and fills the whole country with confusion, and compels several cities, in which were many factious persons, to throw off their subjection to the Pope; the chief of which were the inhabitants of Forli, Arimino, Urbin, and all the Marca di Ancona: in Umbria none stood to the allegiance but those of Todi, Perugia, and Assisi: and in Tuscany only the Florentines were on the Pope's side; who therefore were so harassed by the army of Frederick, that they were forced at last to banish so many of their fellow-citizens as were of the Guelph faction; the Bolognese had better luck, for, giving battle to Henry, one of

Frederick's generals, they overthrew him and cut him to pieces. Some write that it was at this time that Frederick, passing into Sicily, died at Palermo; while others affirm that he was taken desperately sick in Apulia, and when he began to recover, he was smothered to death with a pillow by one Manfred, who was his natural son, begotten by a noble woman his concubine. Howsoever this was, it is certain that some time before his death he had made Manfred Prince of Tarento, and had bestowed upon him, besides the principality, many other towns and territories.

He left Conrad (whom he had by his wife, Yolande, daughter to John, King of Jerusalem) heir of all his estates, but he was afterwards taken off by poison, as was manifest, by the means of Manfred, having before seized upon Naples and Aquino, and sacked them, much against the mind of the Pope, who vigorously opposed these proceedings,[1] though in vain, in order to procure the peace of Italy, that he might have liberty to transport the Italian soldiers to recruit the army of King Lewis then lying before Damietta. But Damietta was now taken, and Robert, Earl of Poictiers, coming with fresh supplies from France, he marches from thence with his army towards the city of Pharamia, whither the Sultan, apprehending his design, was already come with great forces. There happened to be a river betwixt the two armies, by reason whereof they could not join battle, but they had frequent light skirmishes (both generals keeping themselves within their camps), in one of which Robert, rashly venturing too far, was taken prisoner by the enemy. By this time Innocent had almost extinguished those flames of war with which Italy had so long been consumed, and intended to have returned to Rome, having first canonised Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury; but when he came to Perugia, he thought good to decline his journey to Rome, understanding the Senate there arrogated to themselves more power than stood with the dignity of the Pope and Court of Rome; and there he canonised

[1] [Platina absolutely omits one of the most important passages in history. The Pope assumed sovereign power over Southern Italy, and, in order to overthrow the imperial power, he passed sentence of deposition against Conrad, and offered the kingdom of Naples to Edmund II., son of Henry III. of England. The acceptance of the barren title by that feeble king precipitated the baron's war in England. Conrad was, however, conciliatory, and negotiations were in progress when his death took place in 1254.—Ed.]

and enrolled among the holy martyrs, Peter of Verona, a preaching friar, who had been murdered by some heretics between Milan and Como; and the same honour he gave to St Stanislaus, Bishop of Cracow, who in his lifetime was very famous for working miracles. Hence he was invited by the noblemen of the kingdom of Sicily, and immediately departed for Naples, then newly repaired, where he died, and was buried in St Laurence's church, when he had been Pope fourteen years, six months, twelve days, just in the nick of time when he had hopes to have brought into his possession all that kingdom. [He had just offered the realm of Naples to Charles of Anjou, the brother of the King of France, finding that the English prince was in no haste to take it for himself.] It was by the decree of Pope Innocent that the octave of the nativity of the blessed virgin was commanded to be observed yearly in the Church of God as a festival. He, with good advice, filled up the places in the college of cardinals, which had long been vacant, with very worthy personages, and ordained that when they rode abroad they should always wear a red hat for an honourable distinction of the degree they held. Moreover this learned Pope, though raised to the highest dignity in the Church, compiled and published several things; for he composed the Apparatus (or glosses) to the Decretals, which are of great use to the canonists, because they contain many nice disquisitions, which render the text wonderfully plain: and he put forth another upon the councils, which Hostiensis in his "Summa" calls the "Authenticks." He wrote also a book concerning the jurisdiction of the emperor and the authority of the Pope, in answer to one Peter, surnamed Vinea, who asserted that the empire and every person and thing thereunto belonging were absolutely subject to the emperor; to which book Innocent afterwards gave the title of his "Apologetick." He was extremely delighted with the conversation of learned men, whom also he remembered to prefer to dignities in the Church; particularly Hugo, who wrote comments and concordances upon the Holy Bible, a person famous for his learning and good life, he advanced to be cardinal of St Sabina, which great promotion yet did not make him leave his former course of life, being a friar of the Order of St Dominic. In this Pope's reign, and by his order, Alexander, of the Order of Friars Minors, who was well in years when he took upon him a religious habit, wrote a very

copious sum of theology: by the procurement also of this Pope, and enabled by his bounty, Bernardus Parmensis and Compostellanus, two very learned men, at this time made public their works upon the Decretals, which they called "Apparatus." Innocent had not long been dead, when he was followed by his nephew, William, whose tomb is yet to be seen in the Church of St Laurence without the walls. [In this pontificate lived the famous Grostête, Bishop of Lincoln, one of the fiercest opponents of the usurpations of Pope Innocent IV.]

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## ALEXANDER IV.

### 1254-1261.

ALEXANDER the Fourth, a Campanian, born at Anagni, was chosen Pope in the room of Innocent, and straight sends monitory letters to Manfred, that he should not at his peril attempt anything that might be a diminution of the honour of Holy Church; for he calling to his aid the Saracens from Nocera, had surprised the Church forces utterly unprepared that were in Foggia, and either put them to the sword or took them prisoners; and pretending that Conradine was dead and that himself was his rightful heir, he had taken upon him to rule as king. In the meanwhile the Christians, who we told you had encamped near the city of Pharamia, were very much visited with sickness, and pressed with want of provisions, that part of the Nile being prepossessed by the enemy, by which they were wont to be supplied with necessaries; besides that the Patriarch of Jerusalem coming that way with some number of ships, was made a prisoner; so that Lewis being afraid his army should be lost by famine, resolved to return to Damietta, and in his way fell into a great ambuscade of the enemy, by whom he was routed, and himself, with Alphonsus, Earl of Poictiers, and Charles, Earl of Anjou, his brothers-german, was taken prisoner; but the Sultan, not long after this great victory, was slain by his own men, and he that succeeded in his stead having Damietta surrendered to him and a good sum of money, discharged all the Christians, and sent them under safe conduct to Ptolemais, where Lewis sent away his two brothers into his own country, and by the

persuasion of Pope Alexander staid in Asia, till Cæsarea, Joppa, and Sidon (cities the Christians had newly gained from the Saracens) were well garrisoned with men; which done, after having been six years on this expedition, he returned home. While this was doing, Pope Alexander having excommunicated Manfred, went to Anagni, and despatched away Octavian, a cardinal of the Church of Rome, of the family of the Ubaldini, to confirm the Neapolitans in their resolutions against Manfred, assuring him that he would in a short time come in person with good succours to the aid of them and those of Campania; but Manfred not contenting himself to tease the Neapolitans, raised up also several factions in Tuscany, especially at Florence, which city, upon the death of Frederick, had asserted its liberty, where matters were carried so high, that they were fain, by a public edict, to call home those persons who in the days of Frederick had been banished for being Guelphs, that they might be rendered able to withstand the contrivances of the Gibellines; by which means the Guelphish faction got so great strength in Tuscany, that they harassed and did much mischief by their troops to those of Pistoia, Arezzo, Pisa, and Siena, who had expelled their fellow-citizens for being Guelphs, the Lucchese more than any helping them against the Pisans, who had been certainly ruined by the Florentines, after they had been overcome by them at the river Ansari, but that they were afraid of those of Boggibonzi. This town stood in the valley of Helsa, about twelve miles from Siena, very strong by its natural situation and by artificial strengths, of which the Gibellines made use against the Guelphs, as a garrison; but it was at length taken and razed: and then the Florentines, being enemies to Manfred, made offer to the Pope of their assistance against him, which so moved Manfred, that, having been first declared king at Palermo, and with the help of some Saracen auxiliaries having in divers conflicts broken the forces of the Pope under the command of the legate, he sent his Lieutenant-General Jordan with one thousand five hundred horse to the aid of the Sienese against the Florentines, who not long after were met by the Sienese near the river Arbia, and received so great an overthrow that they were forced to leave their city to the will of the enemy. The Pope yet ceased not to persecute the tyrannical lords wheresoever they were, for when Ecelino, as was said, had seized into his hands almost all the Venetian

territories, and had laid siege to Mantua, he immediately sent away Philip Fontanese, Archbishop of Ravenna, to Venice, where, having published the Crusade, he got together a good army, and with it drove Anselm, Ecelino's nephew, out of Padua; upon news whereof Ecelino raises his siege from before Mantua, and marches in great haste to Verona, but understanding he could have no hopes of recovering Padua, he put to death with divers torments all the Paduans he had in his camp, to the number of twelve thousand. At this time the Friars Minors, who were sent to Brescia, had by their preaching persuaded those citizens to recall the banished Guelphs, and to declare for the Church; and the same success they had had at Piacenza and Cremona, but that Obert Pallavicino, with the help of the Gibellines, had taken the government into his sole power. Against him, then, and Ecelino, his confederate, the Pope's legate, assisted by the Guelphs, marches with his army, but near Gambara he is defeated with great loss, and himself, with the Bishop of Bresica and the chief of the Guelphish faction, taken prisoner, all whom, upon the surrender of Brescia, Ecelino let go free, *An. Dom.* 1259. This success of Ecelino made the legate apostolic very fearful of the increase of his power, and put him upon the design of bringing off Obert Pallavicino from his side, which he effected by the means of Boso Donario, a noble citizen of Cremona, who, laying before him the barbarous and detestable cruelty of Ecelino, wrought upon him to throw off his alliance with him, and to enter into the league with the Milanese and Mantuans, and those of the other confederate cities. This much enraged Ecelino, seeing so many enemies conspiring against him, so that rendezvousing his army at Cassano, he from thence ravaged all the country about Milan, provoking the associated cities to give him battle, which they did, and not only vanquished him, but took him prisoner, and he died soon after at Soncino of a wound he had received. Upon his death all the cities of Lombardy recovered their liberty, and became obedient sons of the Church; and the Pope's legate, who had procured to the Paduans their freedom (as aforesaid) to make an end of all the reliques of the war, drives out of Treviso, and puts to death Alberic, brother to Ecelino, with his wife and children. Pope Alexander having taken off these tyrannising lords and put an end to so many great confusions, set his mind upon renewing

the war in Asia; but by reason of a quarrel which happened between the Genoese and Venetians, this pious and necessary expedition was laid aside. The Christians then inhabited Ptolemais and Tyre, two opulent and wealthy cities, which were especially peopled with Genoese, Pisan, and Venetian merchants, who now for sixty-four years had engrossed almost all the trade both from East and West. These merchants had their several exchanges, their several streets and landing-places, and nothing was common to both the Venetians and Genoese but the churches when a contention arose between them about the Monastery of St Saba, which each city claimed to itself alone The Pope would fain have composed the difference, and sent his letters to both, willing that the monastery should be equally free to both nations; but the Genoese having notice aforehand how the Pope intended to determine in the case, by the favour of Philip Montfort, prefect of the city, they excluded the Venetians, possessed themselves of the monastery and fortified it. The Venetians hereupon unanimously leave the city, and making league with Manfred, King of Sicily, raise forces against the Genoese, and setting upon their fleet, consisting of two galleys and and twenty-three great ships then in the port of Ptolemais, they burn them, and following their blow at the same time make themselves masters of the Monastery of St Saba, which they demolished. The Genoese, rather enraged than terrified at this disaster, fit out another fleet, to encounter the Venetians at Tyre, but they industriously avoiding a battle, sail towards the Euxine, and take Selymbria from the Saracens and plunder it; after which both nations recruiting their forces, they steer for Tyre, the common seat of war. The Pope, fearful of the fatal consequences of this contention, sends for the ambassadors of both countries, and makes himself a mediator of peace, which was well-nigh agreed to, when news comes that the Venetians with their allies, the Pisans, had between Tyre and Ptolemais routed the Genoese, taking and sinking twenty-five of their ships; that thereupon the victors were retreated to Ptolemais, and the vanquished were fled to Tyre; that all the edifices of the Genoese at Ptolemais were pulled down, all their merchandises seized as spoil, and the citizens of that nation expelled the place. This havoc made by the Venetians so highly displeased the Pope, that he would not admit their ambassador to audience till they had set free all the Genoese prisoners they had taken. Neither

did this calamity come alone to be the subject of the Pope's care, for Baldwin, Emperor of Constantinople (during whose prosperity there seemed yet to be some hopes left of recovering the Holy Land) was about to quit that city; for Michael Palæologus, who by the last will of Theodore Lascari, was left guardian to his two sons, did the Latins all the mischief that lay in his power, driving out of Achaia, William, a Frenchman, and teasing Baldwin with seditions at home and open war abroad; who afterward going toward the Euxine shore, in order to secure it from the enemy, the citizens of Constantinople in the meantime at midnight let Michael Palæologus into the city, upon news whereof Baldwin and the patriarch Pantaleo retire from Pontus into Europe and lay by all thoughts of war. Palæologus having thus rid himself of his competitor and enemy, murders his two pupils, and assumes the empire, which after having been possessed by the Latins forty-eight years now was transferred to the Greeks. In the meantime Octavian Cardinal Ubaldino returned to the Pope, without having had any great luck in his negotiation at Naples, and the Pope having first at Anagni canonised St Clara, a Franciscan nun, went to Viterbo, to endeavour a peace between the Venetians and Genoese, in which affair he met so much trouble and so many delays, that he died for grief in the seventh year of his pontificate, and was honourably interred in St Laurence's Church. The see was then vacant three months and four days. The life of this Pope is certainly much commended by all writers, he being said to have been bountiful and kind to all, but especially to the poor religious, to whom the great love he bore caused him to condemn by a perpetual edict some books written by William de Sancto Amore, against that sort of poverty, wherein the wicked fellow asserted that those who took upon them religious habits to live by the alms of other men were not capable of salvation. He also publicly burnt another abominable book, in which the author affirmed that a state of grace was not to be obtained by the law of the Gospel, but by the law of the Spirit; which opinion, he said, was taken out of the writings of Abbot Joachim. This book was called by those of that sect the Eternal Gospel. It was Alexander's custom, when he got leisure from public affairs, to busy himself about somewhat that savoured of learning, for he compiled Decretal Epistles, and gave such countenance to learned men that he promoted

several of them to cardinalates, particularly Henry, Cardinal of Ostia, a good divine and an excellent lawyer He was also very liberal and munificent to Bartholomew, a canonist of Brescia, who wrote much upon the Decretals, by which and by his extraordinary abilities and sanctity he got great renown. By this means, moreover, the vaulted church near that of St Agnes, which had in old time been dedicated to Bacchus, was made capable of divine worship; and the inscription in the porch of the Church of St Constance shows that the altar there was consecrated by him.[1]

## URBAN IV.

1261-1264.

URBAN the Fourth, born at Troyes in France, Patriarch of Jerusalem, was made Pope, and immediately listed French soldiers to assist him against Manfred, who infested the patrimony of St Peter; for fear of whom Jordanes, general of Manfred's forces in Tuscany against the Guelphs, was recalled to Naples, which gave some breathing time to the Guelphs, especially those of Florence and Lucca, who had been by the Gibellines marked out for destruction. Lombardy was also plagued with the like seditions, Hubert Pallavicino carrying on now the interests of the Gibelline faction and persecuting the adverse party, though before, by his policy and moderate behaviour to both sides, he had got the command of Brescia by an universal consent. But the citizens of Modena and Reggio, instigated by those of Ferrara and Bononia, fearing lest Pallavicino should overpower them all at last, revolted to the Pope's side and turned the Gibellines out of their cities, giving their goods and effects to the Florentines, who had been banished for Guelphism, by this means adding great strength to their faction. And thus went matters in Lombardy, the Pope still earnestly endeavouring a peace. At Constantinople the Venetians attempted to dethrone Palæologus, and had done it but for his friends and associates

[1 It was in this pontificate that that marvellous outburst of fanaticism took place, the rise of the Flagellants. Now, too, we have to note the growth of the Mendicant Friars —Ed.]

the Genoese; this gave him the greater power, so that, having taken Malvasia, he easily made resistance against the Venetians and William, Prince of Achaia. The Pope was now intent upon sending a legate to procure a peace betwixt the Venetians and Genoese, when Manfred, with a new body of Saracens, seizes La Marca, the inhabitants being before inclined to a rebellion. The Pope, therefore, sends the same legate to France, with order to make use of all manner of promises and entreaties to persuade those French who had taken upon them the Croisade (who had been informed of the thing beforehand), to hasten their march thither. They presently, under the conduct of Guy, Bishop of Auxerre, descend into Italy, and vanquishing Pallavicino at Brescia, without meeting any resistance they come to Viterbo, from whence a little while after, having first received the Pope's blessing, continuing their march through Umbria and the country of Tagliacozzo, they beat the Saracens, who had fled thither, and pursued them as far as the Garigliano. At the same time the Romans, though they meddled not with the patrimony of the Church, yet they threw off obedience to the Pope, making what magistrates they pleased; particularly, contrary to custom, by which they were to choose for senator a Roman only, they elected one Brancaleon of Bologna, a man of a great spirit and very politic, to this high dignity, and promised him great advantages; but this humour held not long, for they soon altered their minds and clapped him in prison. This affront gave great offence to the Bolognese, who, seizing several Romans, protested they would never release them but upon the delivery of their Brancaleon, which so wrought upon the cautious Romans, that they not only released him, but restored him to his former dignity,[1] setting up also another court of men chosen out of every ward in the city (whom they called Banderesc), to whom they committed the power of life and death. The Pope plainly found the reason of this insolence of the Romans to be that they observed how Manfred had plagued him and that he was not able to help himself. That he might, therefore, at last free the Church from the tyranny of these men, he sent legates to Lewis, King of France, to exhort him

[1] [Platina is out in his dates here. The episode of Brancaleon occurred in the pontificate of Alexander IV. The great senator died in 1258.—Ed.]

that he would, as soon as possible, send his brother, Charles, Earl of Provence and Anjou, with an army into Italy; he intending, upon the expulsion of Manfred, to create him King of both Sicilies. And this no doubt he had done (so high were his resentments of the ingratitude of Manfred), if sickness had not taken him off from business; which yet was brought to pass, as is supposed, by the following Pope. To the times of this Pope is ascribed Albertus, a High German, of the Order of Friars Predicant, who, for the vastness of his learning, got the surname of Magnus. He commented upon all the works of Aristotle, and explained the Christian religion with great acuteness, beside, he wrought very accurately concerning the secrets of Nature. He also put forth a book *de Coœquævis*, wherein he endeavours to show the little difference that is between theology and natural philosophy. He expounded a great part of the Holy Bible, and illustrated the Gospels and St Paul's Epistles with excellent notes. He began also a body of divinity, but lived not to perfect it. He was a man so modest and so much given to study, that he refused the bishopric of Ratisbon, because it could not be managed without trouble and force of arms sometimes, as the Bishops of Germany are wont to do. He lived, therefore, in private at Cologne, reading only some public lectures. At length he died there, in the eightieth year of his age, leaving behind him many scholars for the good of posterity, especially Thomas Aquinas, who, leaving his country and his noble kindred (for he derived his pedigree from the Counts of Apulia) and going to Cologne, he made such progress in learning that, after a few years, he was made professor at Paris, where he published four books upon the Sentences, and wrote a book against William de St Amour, a pernicious fellow; besides, he put forth two books, one *de qualitate and essentiis*, the other *de principiis naturæ*. At last he was sent for to Rome by Urban, but refusing those promotions that were offered him, he gave himself wholly to reading and writing. He set up a school at Rome, and at the desire of Urban he wrote several pieces, and ran through almost all natural and moral philosophy with commentaries, and set forth a book *contra Gentiles*. He expounded the Book of Job and compiled the *Catena aurea*. He composed also an office for the sacrament, in which most of the types of the old Testament are explained. But to return to Urban, he died at

Perugia in the third year, first month, and fourth day of his pontificate, and was buried in the cathedral church. The see then was vacant four months.

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## CLEMENT IV.

### 1265-1268.

CLEMENT the Fourth, formerly called Ugo Falcodi, a Narbonnese of St Giles's, deserved to be made Pope upon the account of his holiness and learning. For he being without question the best lawyer in France, and pleading with great integrity in the king's court, was created (after the death of his wife, by whom he had several children) first of all Bishop of Puy, and then a cardinal by universal consent, and afterwards was chosen out as the only person whose sincerity and authority had qualified him to compose the differences between Henry, King of England, and Simon, Earl of Montfort. As soon as he was chosen Pope, some say he put on the habit of a religious mendicant, and went incognito to Perugia. Thither immediately went the cardinals, who having chosen him Pope though in his absence, attended upon him pompously to Viterbo. In the meantime, Charles, whom, we said, Pope Urban sent for to bestow a kingdom upon him, set out from Marseilles with thirty ships, and coming up the Tiber arrived at Rome, where he lived as a senator so long by the Pope's order, till certain cardinals, sent from his Holiness, came and declared him King of Jerusalem and Sicily in the palace of St Giovanni Laterano: upon this condition, that Charles should take an oath to pay the see of Rome a yearly acknowledgment of forty thousand crowns, and should not accept of the Roman empire though it were freely offered to him. For there was at that time a great contest for the empire between Alphonsus, King of Castile (who sought to procure it by power and bribery too), and the Earl of Cornwall, the King of England's brother, whom the electors had no great thoughts of. Therefore lest Manfred should hope to make use of any quarrels between Alphonsus and Charles (to whom many people said the empire was justly due, though he could not challenge it), the Pope animated Charles against Manfred as

one that stood in contempt of the Roman Church. For Charles's army was already gotten over the Alps into Italy, and marching through Romagna, had brought all the soldiers of the Guelphs' party as far as Rome. From whence Charles removed, and took not only Ceperano, having beaten out Manfred's men, but posted himself in a forest near Cassino, which Manfred himself had undertaken to defend; although his mind was soon altered, and he resolved to march for Benevento, to expect the enemy in plain and spacious places, because his forces consisted most of cavalry. Thither also did Charles move; and as soon as he had an opportunity to fight did not decline it, though his soldiers were very weary with travelling Each of them encouraged their men to engage; but Charles, coming to relieve a troop of his soldiers that were like to be worsted, more eagerly than usually (as in such cases military men will do), he was knocked down from his horse, at which the enemy was so transported, that Manfred fought carelessly out of rank and file and was killed; which, when Charles appeared again, straight turned the fortune of the day; for many of his men that ran away were killed, and a great many others taken prisoners. Charles having obtained so great a victory removes to Benevento, and marches into it upon a voluntary surrender of the citizens. From thence he went to storm Nocera de Pagani, where both the modern and the ancient Saracens lived, but sent his mareschal into Tuscany with five hundred horse to restore the Guelphs that had been banished, into their own cities. He was no sooner come hither but the Gibellines departed on their own accord, and he without any disturbance appointed a certain number of officers at Florence, which the neighbouring natives call the heads of the Guelphian faction. Thence he moved against the Sienese, and made all the Gibellines of Tuscany, but especially those of Pisa, his enemies, because he besieged Poggibonci, which the Gibellines stoutly defended. Now when Charles had reduced both kingdoms, all but Nocera de Pagani, he at last grants the Saracens a peace, and let them live in Italy upon their own terms, as they thought good. But he himself with his army, upon the Pope's invitation, went to Viterbo, where Henry, banished by his brother, the King of Castile, was not long before arrived; of whom, when the Pope had heard Charles's good character, he was so pleased with it, that he presented him with great things and made

him a senator of the city. After that Charles marched into Tuscany to suppress the Gibellines, who desired Conradin, a young man, nephew to Conrad of Schwaben, to come into Italy and assist them against the Guelphs And seeing that he could not take Poggibonci by storm, because it was so well fortified both by art and nature, he resolved to starve it into a surrender. And by that means after a long siege he took it; and then going against them of Pisa, he took a town of theirs called Mutrone, and gave it to the state of Lucca. Charles at that time was very likely to have done greater things, but that his friends called him hastily home to his kingdom by reason of some factious people that favoured Conradin's party, but most of all upon account of the Saracens, whom he presently shut up in the strong castles of Nocera de Pagani, that he might go the safer against Conradin, whom the men of Pisa endeavoured to make their king, after they had not only laid waste all the country of Lucca, but conquered and killed Charles's mareschal at Arezzo, by the assistance chiefly of Guido of Montserrat, and all the Gibelline faction on that side the Alps. They say, that as the youth passed through the country near Viterbo toward the kingdom, the Pope, who pitied his condition, said in a prophetic manner, that Conradin himself was led as a sacrifice to the slaughter. So then he went toward Rome, and was met at Ponte Molle by Henry the Senator, together with all the people of Rome, who saluted him with loud acclamations by the name of emperor, but whether out of fear or love is not well known. At Rome he dismissed Guido of Montserrat, and went himself in all haste with his army toward the kingdom, where, when he understood how Charles had taken possession of Campagna di Roma, and the great road that goes through it, he turned away to the mountains called Tagliacocii, toward Marsi; and there he encamped, first of all, near the lake, being fortified with an old conduit and ruinated houses. Charles moved that way too, and pitched his tents within ten furlongs of him at the entrance of a hollow vale, where by advice of Alardus, a Neapolitan, who had been an old soldier in Germany, he immediately sent away part of his army under the command of his marshal, who was disguised like a king, with a design to provoke the enemy. But he himself staid the meanwhile on the other side the hill with his best soldiers in ambuscade to wait for a good occasion of doing his business

effectually. They fought full three whole hours without being able to say who should have the better of it till the marshal, who behaved himself very bravely, fell; at whose death the French began to give back, but the Germans were more brisk than ever, and pursued them to all places without any manner of order. By this means Charles came upon them in a confusion, routed them and made them run for it, but killed a great many of them as they fled. Henry the Senator was taken prisoner at Rieti whilst he endeavoured to escape; and Conradin, being discovered at the same time with the Duke of Austria, as he attempted to pass the Tiber and go by boat into Tuscany, was brought to Charles and put to death: as the Pope, we told you, had prophesied it would shortly happen. Charles, therefore, in the year 1268, after so great a victory, and having made himself absolute in the kingdom, went to Rome, where for some time he acted as a senator by the Pope's permission, and sent his marshal into Tuscany, by whose pains and care a peace was made between the Sienese and the Florentines. But when Clement was dead, in the third year of his popedom, and twenty-first day, and buried at Viterbo, there was such a difference presently not only between the people of Italy, whom the godly Pope whilst alive had by his authority and awe upon them, kept within some kind of measures, but also between the cardinals about the choice of a new Pope, that the see was void two years. At that time Charles, who took a great care that the Church should not suffer any damage, went with part of his army into Tuscany, where he took Poggibonci (the place from whence all the troubles sprang) and sold it to the Florentines, which, when they had demolished, they built a new town not far from thence upon a plain ground, which they call Poggibonci, whereas the old one was called anciently Bonitium. After that Charles made peace with those of Pisa, whose ships he designed to make use of to carry him over into Africa, and then intended to return to his kingdom, leaving Ruffus, Earl of Anguillara, with part of his army in Tuscany to keep the Tuscans in order. In the meantime King Lewis set sail from Marseilles, and was followed by three of his sons, Theobald, King of Navarre, and the Earl of Champaigne, together with an apostolical legate. All these arrived at Tunis the very same time, and besieging the city they destroyed all that ever came to their hands. But a plague happening in the camp, which

for a good while had infected none but inconsiderable persons, at last took off Lewis with his youngest son and the legate. To him succeeded Philip, his son, who began now to think of going homeward. But Charles, King of Sicily, coming up to him, a peace was concluded upon this condition, that the captives on both sides should be dismissed, and the king of the country should pay Charles a certain tribute, besides that he should suffer the Gospel to be freely preached in his dominions. Then they brought back their forces into Sicily, where the King of Navarre and the Earl of Champaigne died at Trapani, which made Philip and Charles, partly for devotion and partly to avoid the contagion, sail to Civita-Vecchia, with an intent to go from thence by land to Viterbo, where the cardinals were still contending about the choice of a Pope, for they imagined that the presence of two such great kings would certainly move them (as it did) to make Theobald of Piacenza, Archdeacon of Liege, Pope, though he were absent. But to return to Clement, whose life is to be commended in every part of it for his learning, piety, religion, humanity, charity to his neighbours, and to all poor Christians. As for the goods of the Church, he distributed them at such a rate and with such discretion that he in all probability gave more to God than to his own relations. He had two daughters by his wife who died before his Popedom, to one of which, that lived in a nunnery, he gave thirty pounds of small Deniers Tournois; and to the other, who was married to a man of an equal fortune, he ordered a portion of three hundred pounds Tournois, upon condition she should never ask for one penny more. He had besides a nephew that was a clergyman, whom, when he found to have three prebends (for so they call canonries) he forced him to take his choice which of them he would keep, and leave the other two. But when his friends were urgent with him not only to let his nephew enjoy what he already had but give him more and greater preferments, the holy man made answer (I would the Popes in our time would follow his example) that he would obey God, and not flesh and blood: "That it was God's pleasure, what belonged to the Church should be bestowed to charitable uses; nor was he worthy to be St Peter's successor, who would give more to his kindred than to religion and to Christ." But whilst he was at Viterbo, and news were daily brought to him that Ednigeth, a Duchess of Poland who had been long dead, was in very great esteem

for her miracles, he canonized her. He was also wonderfully satisfied with the doctrine of Bonaventure, General of the Order of Friars Minors, who at that time wrote gravely and copiously upon the first, second, third, and fourth Books of the Sentences. Now, the holy man dying with such a character, was much lamented and missed by all men. And hence arose the controversy among the cardinals to find out a fit person to succeed Clement.

## GREGORY X.

1271-1276.

GREGORY the Tenth, formerly called Theobald, an Italian, born at Piacenza, and Archdeacon of Liege, was created Pope by the College of Cardinals at Viterbo, whilst he was in Asia. For at that time, when Lewis went into Africa, Edward, son to the King of England, sailed from England into Asia with a great navy in order to regain the Holy Land. But staying so long at Ptolemais till Lewis, King of France, came out of Africa with victory, according to his promise, he was stabbed in three places by one Arsacida, a companion of his, as he was alone in his bed-chamber, and by the assistance of another friend of his, very hardly escaped his death. For that other person held the ruffian's hand so long, till the people of the house came in, who tore treacherous Arsacida to pieces, and dragged him out of the room. But Edward, when he was cured of his wounds, had a great esteem for his friend Theobald, because he continually animated all Christian kings and princes against the Saracens; and when he went to Rome in order to receive the Popedom, being sent for by the cardinals, who had elected him, he assisted him extraordinarily with a ship, with money, and a splendid equipage, especially at that time, when Henry, a youth, and son of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, who was lately dead, came to Viterbo to see Clement. After whose death, staying there for some time, he was unluckily killed. For Guy de Montfort, who went to the cathedral church along with Philip, the French king, to hear divine service, stabbed him before the altar; because his father Simon had been basely murdered in England by Richard He hav-

ing revenged his father's death in this manner, he escaped with safety to Ruffus, governor of Tuscany. Not long after Philip and Charles, vexed at such an indignity, went from Viterbo, the former into France, the latter into Apulia. For, having made a peace with the Saracens, Charles went along with Theobald (who was arrived at Siponto, now called Manfredonia) as far as Capua. From thence his Holiness travelled through Marsi and Sabini to Viterbo, where he was received by the cardinals with all respect and honour imaginable, and being crowned with the pontifical diadem, he was invested with all the power that Christ left Peter. When that was done, and that he had settled the Popedom for a time, he was desirous to make peace between the Genoese and the Venetians. For these two states had been engaged one with another in great and bloody conflicts for a long time. Upon this account, Philip, King of France, who tarried at Cremona, was prevailed upon by the Pope to send for the Genoese and Venetian ambassadors, and made a peace between them for five years, that they might all go in one body against the Saracens. Italy was now quiet, when the beginning of an universal disorder rose from the Venetians' new exactions. For they made a law that no one should sail in the Adriatic, especially from Pola to Venice, unless they paid a gabel according to the value of their goods. But the Bolognese could not endure this, as being at that time masters of a great part of Romagna, and therefore for three years together they fought the Venetians with great variety of fortune. At last being tired out, they accepted of a peace upon this condition, that they should demolish a castle which they had built upon the very mouth of Po, that they should have free leave to carry out some goods that were there, and then the Venetians should have the sole custody of the mouth of the river Po. They also of Ancona were offended that the Venetians challenged the absolute dominion of the Adriatic Sea, and exacted custom from those that sailed there. And hereof they complained to the Pope, whose duty it is to see that no new taxes be imposed. He therefore immediately commanded the Venetians to take off that imposition, who answered him in these very words, "That the Pope did not perfectly understand the matter, and that when he did, he would be able to judge better of it." Gregory could not make an end of this matter to his mind: because he was forced to go to the council

which he had called at Lyons, 1274. Thither also went Palæologus, Emperor of Constantinople, with a great retinue, and made the Greeks comply and subscribe to the opinion of the Church of Rome, now the thirteenth time, they having so often revolted. Nay farther, some noblemen of Tartary were induced by his authority to receive baptism. Meantime, the Western Empire being vacant, Rodolphus of Hapsburgh is made emperor by the electors, upon condition that he would go to Rome the next year to receive the crown there. But the Florentines, who were Guelphs, immediately turned out their countrymen, the Gibellines, though they had been restored to their country by Gregory, as he went into France. At which the Pope was so angry, that he interdicted them from all benefit of the law, and was very near doing the same thing by the Bolognese, who had ejected the Lambertescii and the Asinelli, Gibellines of noble families: but they suffered for it not long after. For when they went to fight against the Forlese, that had kindly entertained some persons whom they had banished, it is said eight thousand of the Bolognese were slain at one sally from the town. Upon which misfortune some cities of Romagna grew confident, and immediately revolted from the Bolognese themselves, especially Cervia, from whence they received a great revenue out of salt. But Gregory, when he had dismissed the council at Lyons, in which many decrees were made relating to the choice of Popes, the expedition against the Saracens, the union of the Greek and Latin Churches, and the peace of Christendom, as he was going into Italy he met Alphonso, King of Castile, at Beaucaire, complaining grievously that he had given the empire to Rodolphus. But when the Pope had satisfied him, he resigned all his right to Rodolphus. The Pope was very kindly received by all the Italians as he travelled through Tuscany, but shunned the Florentines on purpose, and went to Arezzo, lest they should have prevailed with him to take off his interdiction. At Arezzo he died in the fourth year, second month, and tenth day of his pontificate, and there he was buried. He was a man of extraordinary reputation through his whole life for prudence in the conduct of his affairs, for courage, and greatness of mind, that made him contemn money and all mean things: for humanity, clemency, bounty to poor Christians, and those especially that fled for refuge into the bosom of the apostolic see.

## INNOCENT V.

### 1276.

INNOCENT the Fifth, formerly called Peter of Tarantaise, a Burgundian, a Dominican, a man very learned in holy writ, was created Pope at Arezzo in the year of our Lord 1276. From thence not long after he went to Rome, where he was crowned in St Peter's Church, and from that time immediately applied himself to compose the affairs of Italy. To this end he sent legates (men of great authority) to command not only the people of Tuscany (who conspired the ruin of those of Pisa), but also the Genoese and Venetians (who were mortal enemies) to quit their arms. Assistant to them were the ambassadors of Charles, the King, by whose awe over them he hoped to have his business done more to his mind. The people of Tuscany did as he commanded them, but especially the Florentines, whom the Pope absolved from Gregory's interdiction upon that very score. But the Genoese and Venetians, whose hatred was more inveterate, were still in arms, perpetually butchering each other, and yet Innocent, if he had lived a little longer, had brought them over to his opinion; so zealous he was in that matter. But he died in the sixth month and second day of his pontificate, and was buried in the Lateran Church. Now, the secular priests had no great reason to lament his death by reason of a sentence which he gave just before he died. For when there arose a dispute between the priests of the cathedral church and the friars preachers concerning the body of Clement the Fourth (for each Order desired to have the disposing of it), he gave judgment that it ought to be committed to the friars, for he said his Holiness had ordered it so whilst he was alive. Upon this account Innocent was a little maligned, but was otherwise a very good man, and such a person from whom those of his time might have expected all the good imaginable.

## ADRIAN V.

1276.

ADRIAN the Fifth, a Genoese, of the family of the Fieschi, before called Othobuone, was made Pope at Rome in the court of the Lateran. He was Innocent the Fourth's nephew, by whom he was created cardinal deacon of St Adrian, and sent a legate into England with plenary power to compose the differences between that king and his barons. As soon as he was made Pope he presently went to Viterbo, and invites Rodulphus the emperor into Italy, to lessen the power of Charles, who at that time did what he pleased at Rome. But Rodulphus being engaged in the Bohemian War, could not comply with Adrian. In the meantime Charles was very cautious to avoid the envy of the world, and turned all the stress of the war upon Achaia, so to make his way toward the empire of Constantinople. But Adrian dying in the fortieth day of his pontificate, he came back into Italy. This Pope died at Viterbo before his consecration, and was buried in a convent of Friars Minors. He had an intention not only more and more to secure the Church's patrimony from tyrants, but also to reduce Gregory's decree for the choice of a Pope into a better method, not totally to abolish it. But death obstructed his endeavours, and withstood the greatness of his mind. The see at that time was vacant twenty-eight days.

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## JOHN XXI.

1276-1277.

JOHN the Twenty-First, a Portuguese, born at Lisbon, and formerly called Peter, was made Pope, being then Bishop of Tusculum, who, though he were reckoned a very learned man, yet by his ignorance in business, and the unevenness of his conversation, he did the popedom more injury than honour or kindness. For he did many things that argued him to be guilty of folly and levity, and does not deserve commendations

unless it be for one thing, and that was that he assisted young scholars, especially the poorer sort, with money and preferments. At that time the Venetians infested those of Ancona for merchandising in Dalmatia without paying any custom to the Venetians: and yet the Pope himself, to whom they were tributary, did not protect them as he should have done, but only seemed ready with his tongue to say what he was too much a coward ever to do. Nevertheless, the Anconese, though the Pope would not aid them, took courage and made a sally so briskly, that they raised the siege, and drove the Venetians from the town a good way, not without considerable damage to them. By the advice of John Cajetan (who governed all things at that time, for that he was made Pope by his assistance and the votes he procured) he sent legates to Palæologus, and all the Western kings, to exhort them in his name, that they would make peace with one another, and bend their forces against the Saracens and other enemies of Christianity. The man was a fool to promise himself a long life, and to tell everybody he should live a great while, because everybody knew his life and conversation; he was so immodest and so sottish. But behold, as he was betraying his folly to all that were about him, a certain new apartment that he had built in the palace at Viterbo fell down all of a sudden, and he was found among the wood and the stones seven days after the fall of it; but he received the Sacraments of the Church and then died in the eighth month of his pontificate, and was buried at Viterbo. He was a man (as I said before) of great learning but little prudence, for he wrote many tracts in his life, especially certain rules relating to physic, for he was counted a very good physician. He wrote also another book and called it "Thesaurus Pauperum," or the Poor's Treasure, and set out problems in imitation of Aristotle. But it is certain, however it comes to be so, that many very learned men are not at all fit for business. Yet I need not doubt how it comes to pass, but take it rather for a greater wonder, if he that takes pleasure in contemplation, should apply his mind to worldly affairs too.

## NICOLAS III.

### 1277-1280.

NICOLAS the Third, a Roman, of the family of the Orsini, formerly called John Cajetan, was made Pope at last, after the election had been six months in suspense, by reason of a great contest that was among the cardinals. Now the King of Sicily, as Senator, had the guard of the Conclave at that time, and was very urgent with them, to choose a Frenchman. But Nicolas, as soon as he began his reign, in the year 1277, resolved to restrain Charles's power, and took from him the Lieutenancy of Tuscany; because, he said, that Rodulphus took it ill, and would not perform his promise of going upon the expedition into the Holy Land upon any other terms, since Tuscany was reckoned to belong to the jurisdiction of the empire. Though the Pope gained this point, yet he reduced Romagna and Bologna itself together with the Exarchate of Ravenna, which at that time were under the emperor, and made them subject to himself. And thither he sent Bertholdus, his nephew, who was declared Earl of Romagna. He sent also another nephew of his that was a cardinal, called Latinus, legate into Tuscany; who restored the Gibellines in all places, and imposed what officers he pleased upon the citizens at Florence and in other parts of Tuscany. But the office of senator, which used to be granted, or committed to kings and princes, he discharged himself alone. He would not see the ambassadors from the Venetians (who at that time harassed the Anconese with war), and so they departed. But he called them back, and chid them severely; nay, he threatened to ruin their city, if they did not desist from besieging, or storming Ancona. At length when both parties had suffered great inconveniences, they made a peace upon equal terms. But this Pope had a mind to create two kings, both of the Orsini; one of Tuscany, and the other of Lõmbardy, to keep those Germans on the one side (that inhabit part of the Alps) and the French on the other side, that lived in Sicily and Naples, within their bounds. And to bring it about, he persuaded Peter, King of Aragon, to endeavour the recovery of the kingdom of Sicily upon the title of his wife Constantia, who was heir to it: and he took the honour of

senator from Charles and conferred it upon himself; and made an everlasting edict, that no king or prince should dare to sue for, or bear that office. This Nicolas (as authors say) was a man of great courage and conduct, and so perfect in his life and conversation, that in Italian he was commonly called *il Composto* or *Composto*. He was a lover and admirer of learned men, especially of those who had learning mingled with prudence and religion. But he was reckoned impartial to all in the distribution of honours and dignities. For at his first ordination, he chose a bishop for Alba out of the Order of Minors, for Ostia and Porto out of the Preachers. The bishops of Palestrino and Tiescat, were Seculars. He created besides these, two cardinal-priests, that is to say, Gerard, with the title of the Twelve Apostles, and Jerome, of the Order of Minors, with the title of St Pudentiana. To them he added two deacons, that is to say, Jordan his brother, cardinal of St Eustachius, a man of much learning and innocence; and James Colonna of St Maries in Via Lata, a person of great religion and gravity. He adorned and enlarged the papal palace with other buildings which he added. For he built a convenient house nigh St Peter's (part of which is yet to be seen), which Nicolas the Fifth afterward repaired to his great cost and charge. He also walled St Peter's Garden, which now they call Belvedere. Then he repaired St Peter's Church when it was ready to fall with age, and adorned it with the pictures of the Popes. The same he did in St Paul's. More than all this, he advanced Divine worship most wonderfully, by increasing the number of canons, and the provision that had been made for those who served in churches. Again, he divided the ecclesiastic orders and appointed to each their offices. He likewise assigned everyone his lodging, that even strangers might know where every officer, especially the chief officer, was to be found. He finished the Lateran palace which was begun before by Adrian the Fifth. He built the Sancta Sanctorum from the ground, after the first chapel was ruined with age: and beautified the church itself with mosaic work (as it is now to be seen) and with plaster of marble. And thither he removed the apostles' heads, till he had repaired St John's Church at his own charge. But when it was finished, he presently brought them back again, in silver cases made by his order, and, attended by all the people, he laid them up in the chapel which was built for the purpose. The

same day he consecrated the church, that is, upon the 8th of July. Some historians say, that no one ever said Mass with more devotion than he, for during the performance of that divine office, he constantly wept. He was very godly, and such a lover of the Friars Minors for that they contemned the world, that he has explained many doubts relating to that order in a Decretal Epistle. When churches were void, there never was a Pope that took care sooner or more deliberately; giving them to the best and the fittest men he could find. For he first looked into a man's life and his learning, and *then gave immediately* the vacant sees to those that he thought worthy. For he used to say delays were dangerous; because there were such men as would commit sacrilege with all their hearts. He could not endure proctors and attorneys, because they lived upon the blood of the poor; and those that went to law, but hated them as a plague in which he imitated Gregory X. and John XXI. But because there were great corruptions among magistrates in all places; he ordained, that all offices should be annual only; and if anyone durst to hold them longer, he was liable to an anathema, from which he could not be absolved but by the Pope himself. Besides these things he did a great many more for the good of the clergy and all Christian people, as it appears in his titles. And yet he had his faults too, amidst all these commendations. For he is said to have loved his relations to such a degree, as that he would rob others to give to them. For he took castles from some noble Romans, and gave them to his own kindred, particularly that at Soriano; where, though he was a most temperate man, yet he died suddenly in the third year, eighth month, and fifteenth day of his pontificate; whose death they say somebody foretold by a presage drawn from the swelling of the river Tiber. For it rose so high, that it was four feet and more above the altar in round St Maries. But his body was carried to Rome, and buried in the Chapel of St Nicolas, which he built in St Peter's, in a marble tomb beautified with fret-work, still to be seen, *An. Dom.* 1280, eight days after the Assumption. This year Charles, the king, adorned and honoured the body of St Magdalen, which St Maximin had buried in a town of his own name, with a more magnificent tomb and a bigger chapel, and laid her head up in a silver case separate from her body. Now they say that upon the death of Nicolas, the see was vacant six months.

For whilst the cardinals were about electing a new Pope at Viterbo, and one Richard, of the family of the Hannibals (which is the best in all Rome), was keeper of the conclave, two cardinals of the Orsini did what they could to hinder the election, unless Richard, who was a bitter enemy to the Orsini, would restore Orsus, nephew to Nicolas, lately deceased, to his government of Viterbo, from which he had not long before deposed him. For this reason the people of Viterbo sided with Richard, went into the conclave, took the cardinals and imprisoned them. Which when it was known at Rome, the same faction of the Hannibals drove the Orsini out of the city, who, seeing they were forced to depart, went all together, and retired as far as Præneste. So that the French cardinals (when the Orsini were gone) outvoted the Italians, and chose a French Pope about the end of the sixth month.

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## MARTIN IV.

### 1281-1285.

MARTIN the Fourth, formerly called Simon, a cardinal priest of St Cæcilie, and a Frenchman of Tours, being chosen Pope, would not be crowned at Viterbo, because he thought that city ought not to be made use of in such a solemn occasion, where the cardinals had been so assaulted. And therefore he went to Orvieto, an ancient city, and there performed all the ceremonies upon the 23rd day of March. And upon Easter day he created six cardinals; of which the Earl of Milan had the title of St Marcellin and Peter; and Benedict Cajetanus had that of St Nicolas in the prison. As for Charles, the king, he not only received him kindly when he came to him, but he gave him his former senatorian dignity, whereof Nicolas had deprived him. But this was not so very well approved on by all, because it was like to cause great tumults in the city, the Orsini being now restored and the Hannibali banished. For Charles was a mighty enemy to the Orsini, for Nicolas's sake, whom he hated. For this reason John, to revenge the injuries done to his brother Latinus, and in defence of the dignity conferred upon himself by the Romans, got a good army together, and marching towards

Viterbo, spoiled all their country far and near. But Martin, who was then in Montefiascone, being concerned at the misery of the Viterbans, sent Matthew, a cardinal of the Orsini family, to Rome in all haste to compose the business; who took John, the captain of the Roman people, whom he met upon the road, along with him. Thither came all the heads of the factions by command from the legate, especially Rinaldo Hannibal, to be absolved by the legate from that interdiction, that he incurred at Viterbo, for breaking into the conclave, and imprisoning the cardinals Orsini. He therefore laid himself at the cardinal's feet, with a rope about his neck (as the greatest sign of penitence), and after he had begged pardon was absolved. Peace being thus made between both the factions, and the Roman army called back from plundering the Viterbans, the Pope immediately grants the Romans a power to choose two senators out of themselves that should govern the city. Accordingly two were chosen, Hannibal, son of Peter Hannibali, and Pandulphus Savelli, who ruled the city very well all the time they were in office: especially at that time when Pope Martin, at the request of Charles, King of Sicily, excommunicated Palæologus for not keeping the articles of alliance made between them. But then Palæologus, fearing Charles's power, made a private league with Peter, King of Aragon, who laid claim to the kingdom of Sicily in right of his wife Constantia, Manfred's daughter and Conradin's niece. Hereupon they prepared a great navy at the common charge of them both, which made the Pope send to Peter to know of him what he meant by all those preparations. Peter told him that if he thought his shirt could know what his intentions were, he would tear it from his body. So the legate went away without any satisfaction: and Peter, when he had gotten his navy ready, sails into Africa, where he pillaged the coast of Tunis extremely, and then returning into Sardinia, expected to hear of some new commotions in Sicily by the contrivance of John Procida, according to an agreement they had made. In the meantime new broils arose in Lombardy. For the Visconti, a noble family there, under the command of Luchino, drove the Turriani, another potent family, out of Milan. Which Luchino was afterwards sent as lieutenant to the emperor into Tuscany, where he resided at St Miniato, and plagued the Florentines and Lucchese with grievous incursions, not regarding the Pope's interdictions, with which

he thought to have affrighted him from troubling these his friends and allies. Those also of Perugia were now in arms, and did so press the Fulignese, that they took their city, and demolished part of the walls. Thereupon the Pope excommunicated them; but paying a good sum of money to him for penance, they soon obtained his pardon. In the meantime the Sicilians, whose motions Peter attended in Sardinia, could no longer endure the pride and licentiousness of the French, and therefore were persuaded by John Procida to enter into a conspiracy against Charles, that upon such a day in the evening when they should hear such a bell ring, they should fall on and kill the French without respect to sex or age. In which action, it is said, they were so true to their barbarous promise, that even those Sicilian women were killed who were with child by Frenchmen; hence comes it that the Sicilian Vespers is grown a byword for any great massacre. At this time Guido Appius met with ill fortune, when he was sent in the Pope's name with eight hundred French horse to recover Romagna. For as they sate before Forli, and the citizens would fain have sallied out, one Guido Bonatus, an excellent astrologer, exhorted his fellow-citizens to wait till such time as the stars should promise good luck, and make their sally when he gave them the signal. They did as he would have them, and breaking forth in the very nick of time they killed Guido and almost all his Frenchmen. Thus was that city freed from a great siege. But Charles, when he heard how the Sicilians had revolted, and of their cruelty too, went over into Sicily with a very considerable army. And first he besieged Messina, which he had certainly taken by surrender, but that the French, desirous of revenge, had threatened to raze the city. Besides Peter of Aragon, who expected (as I told you) such commotions, no sooner heard of it but he comes over with all speed from Sardinia into Sicily, and, arriving at Palermo, he was very kindly received by the citizens and all the other Sicilians, who also saluted him by the name of king, whilst all the rabble flocked about him. Charles was frightened at this, and therefore, leaving Messina, he went immediately into Calabria to stay for his son, the Prince of Salerno, who, he knew would come very shortly out of the province of Narbonne with some recruits. Charles expostulated with Peter of Aragon, that he who was his relation, nay, of the same blood, too, should dare to invade

his kingdom; to which he replied, that he was so compassionate as that he could not deny his assistance to a miserable people who were so hardly used: though he said too, that the kingdom belonged to him by right of inheritance, as he was husband to Constantia, Montfort's daughter, and Conradin's niece. At last, when words grew high on both sides, it came to a duel, upon this condition though, that each king should have an hundred men along with him, as being to engage in such a weighty combat, and the place where they were to fight was to be Bordeaux. For both these kings were akin to the King of England, who, with the assistance of Pope Martin, at length made up the difference. But when Peter, for all that, made war upon Charles, Martin sent Gerard, Cardinal of Parma, his legate, to Naples, not only to keep the people in allegiance to him, but to assist him, who was but a youth, with good counsel and the awe of his presence. But when Peter had sent Rogeris Lorias, his admiral, to Naples, Charles, Prince of Salerno, moved toward the enemy, and not far from Naples was conquered with the loss of a great many men: nor only so, but he was taken, and carried first into Sicily and then into Aragon. But this, without question, had never happened if he would but have hearkened to the legate (as he should have done), who was of a contrary opinion, who dissuaded him, and told him that such a mighty kingdom as that was, ought not to be hazarded at that rate. For not long after his father, Charles, came with a great navy, which would have made him able to have coped with the enemy before he was a conqueror. But Martin, being concerned very much for Charles's misfortune, excommunicates Peter of Aragon, and gives his kingdom for a prey to any one that can or will take possession of it, absolving his subjects from their oath of allegiance to him, and exciting all Christians against him as an usurper of the Church's patrimony, according to his opinion. Nay, he would have sent the Church militia to help Charles, but that he was fain to wage war in Romagna himself against the Forlese, who, by the aid of Guy, Earl of Montfort, were so bold as to revolt from the Church, and attack some forts thereabouts. But when Guy himself repented of what he had done, and had made peace with the Pope, he not only demolished the walls of Forli, in revenge to Guido Appius, but he recovered a great part of Romagna in a short time He had also taken Urbino, as sure as he attempted it, but

that Rubeus Anguillarius, Earl of Tuscany, died in the action. There were at that time two generals that commanded the camp: one of which was sent into Tuscany to defend that part of the country that lies toward the Soane, and the other (whom they call Earl of Giovenazzo) continued the siege by the Pope's order, whilst Guido Montefeltranus supplied the very townsmen with necessaries underhand. But in the meantime, when Martin was at a loss from which of the two states, Pisa or Genoa, he should desire auxiliaries against Peter of Aragon, there arose immediately such a quarrel between them about the possession of Corsica, that they themselves were fain to beg assistance one against another. Then the Pope sent word to the apostolical legate that he should keep the people in order till Charles came with a supply. After which, Charles went into Naples, and having settled the people's minds, sailed into Africa, where he died of a fever, upon which occasion all the weight of the government devolved upon the legate. At that time there was a rumour, and almost a current report, that Philip, son of the French king, and Earl of Artois, was coming to receive that kingdom. But that did not frighten Peter from spoiling the country, because he was sure he came with a small number; for his father, Philip, was going into Aragon with a great army to take possession of Peter's kingdom, which Martin the Pope, by heavy censures first laid upon him, had exposed as a booty to any one that could get it. But the Pope being surrounded with so many cares, and those increased, too, by new tumults at Orvieto (for the Gibellines had banished the Guelphs), he went to Perugia, where, not long after, he died of an hectic fever in the fourth year and first month of his pontificate, and was buried in the cathedral, at whose tomb many sick, blind, deaf, and lame people that are brought thither recover from God their former health by the merits of this most holy Pope.

## HONORIUS IV.

1285-1287.

HONORIUS the Fourth, a Roman, of the race of the Savelli (a very noble family), formerly called James, a cardinal deacon, was made Pope at Perugia, and came to

Rome in the year 1285, when his brother Pandulphus was senator. For Pandulphus was esteemed a person of so much severity and justice, that whenever the citizens of Rome had a mind to purge the city of robbers, ruffians, thieves, and parricides (of which at that time there were great numbers in Rome among the seditious), they desired no other senator than Pandulphus. And he, though mightily tormented with the gout both in his feet and his hands, yet in courage and constancy of mind he was inferior to none of those that had their health. Honorius also was sometimes troubled with the same distemper, insomuch that he was forced to make use of certain instruments made for the purpose to support him when he performed the priestly office. But he was a man of that conduct and prudence, that he did not seem much deficient in corporal strength. For he himself could discern rather more of the affairs of the city than those that were in it besides, put them all together He lived in the Mount di St Sabina, and built him a curious palace there (whose ruins are yet to be seen), which drew many of the Romans to live by him; so that the Mount began from his time to be very full of inhabitants. He was resolved to injure no man whilst he was Pope, but, on the contrary, to do what good he could to all; and, therefore, being provoked by the indignities which Peter, King of Aragon, offered to him by endeavouring to get the kingdom of Sicily, he confirmed Martin's interdictions against Peter. But Rodulphus, the emperor, having a great mind to raise money, sent his chancellor (one of the family of the Fieschi) into Tuscany, to make all the country free, especially those who would buy their liberty. Those of Lucca paid upon that account £12,000; the Florentines six thousand; and as soon as they were made perfectly free they created a certain kind of officers (which they call arts-masters) with a sword-bearer. This sale did not displease Honorius, though it looked too mean for such a great prince; because by that means the patrimony of the Church would be more secure, he thought, when the emperor had no more power to oppress those free cities. But whilst the king of France besieged Girona, and Peter of Aragon was solicitous how to hinder the carriage of provisions from Narbonne into the enemy's camp, he was engaged in a sharp conflict, where he received a deadly wound, of which not long after he died for want of looking to. So that Girona was surrendered upon terms, and sub-

mitted to the king of France, though he did not long survive the conquest. For he died of a fever which he caught in the camp as he was besieging Perpignano. His navy, too, not long after that was taken and burnt in the port of Narbonne by Roger Loria. Peter of Aragon had two sons, Ferdinand and James; whereof he left Ferdinand, his eldest son, king of Aragon, by his will, and James, king of Sicily. But when the old kings were dead, in that manner, as I have told you, the wars devolved upon the young ones, who attempted on both sides to make those of Pisa and the Genose, who were excellent seamen, of their party. But those two States being incensed and armed against each other, engaged so furiously at Malora, an island near the port of Pisa, that those of Pisa lost forty ships or galleys and twelve thousand men, which were partly slain and partly taken. Honorius took this misfortune of theirs so much to heart that he had like to have interdicted the Genoese, who pursued the men of Pisa with too much animosity. And that unhappy day gave such a shock to those of Pisa, that they never retrieved themselves since. But Edward, King of England, went at that time into Gascoigne to make peace between Charles, a youth, son to the king of France (who, I told you, was taken in war), and Ferdinand, King of Aragon. The business went as he would have it, and they treated about Charles's freedom, when at the same time the apostolical legate and the Earl of Arras, with the assistance of the Earl of Avellino, possess themselves of the city Catina, and send over thither an army raised out of Tuscany. For this reason Edward returned home without success. But Roger Loria advanced King Ferdinand's fortune by taking the French fleet as it came back out of Sicily. Honorius could not engage in this war, because he was invaded in Romagna by Guido Feltrini. But at length, when he had conquered Guido, he recovered all Romagna in a short time · and not long after died, two years and a day after he was made Pope. His body was carried in great state from St Sabina to St Peter's, and buried in a marble tomb, which is yet extant among those that Pope Pius collected, as the arms of his family and the inscription declare; and, indeed, he deserved all the honour paid to his dead corpse, because he was a very upright man, and a great lover of Christian piety. For he confirmed not only the Order of Carmelites, which was not very well approved of in some councils, and changed

their black cloaks for white ones; but he did the same also by the Order of Eremites, which was disapproved on at Paris. But the only cardinal he made during his pontificate was John Boccamatius, bishop of Frascati; for he would say that none but good and learned men ought to be taken into so great a society; not those that were illiterate and ignorant in the management of human affairs. He loved courtiers so, as that he would go every year, especially in the summer, to Tivoli, on purpose to avoid the heat of the town, which causes many diseases. When Honorius was dead, the see was vacant ten months. For the conclave being summoned to meet at St Sabina, a great many of the cardinals were taken sick of a sudden. Out of whom there died Jordan Orsini, Earl of Milan; Hugh, an Englishman, Gervase of Anjou, Dean of Paris; and Antherius, an excellent person. For this reason they dismissed the conclave, and deferred the matter till a more seasonable time; especially because of the earthquakes, which were then so great, that they thought heaven itself would be angry with them if they did it at that time.

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## NICOLAS IV.

1288-1292.

NICOLAS the Fourth, of Principato-citra, an Ascolese, formerly called Jerome, a brother and general of the Order of Friars Minors, and after that a cardinal priest, was made Pope at St Sabina, the tenth month after Honorius's death, and placed not only in Peter's see, but in the saint's own chair. After that he went to Rieti to avoid some tumults at Rome, and there he created cardinals of almost all religions. For he loved all men alike, nor did he think that he owed more to his relations than to any good man. The difference between virtue and vice caused him to incline more to one man than another. Some of those that he made cardinals were called Neapolio, Petrus Colonna, Hugo Colionius, a famous doctor of the order of Preachers, Matthæus Aquasparta, general of the Minors, and bishop of Porto. About a year after, he came back to Rome, when city broils were somewhat appeased, and lived at St Mary's the Great, which church

he and James Columna repaired, as appears upon the great portico, where the image of our Saviour, the Pope, and James the cardinal are yet to be seen. The same Pope repaired the front and the back part of the Lateran, and adorned it with fret-work, as the inscription tells us. In the meantime, the Kings of Aragon and Sicily conclude a peace upon these terms: that King Charles should be set at liberty, and settle James of Aragon in the kingdom of Sicily at his own charge. And if he did not do so in three years' time, he promised to return to prison, giving his two sons for hostages, one of which was named Charles (who was afterwards created King of Hungary and called Martellus), and the other Lewis, who, when he had lived a good life in the Order of St Francis, was canonised for a saint. Whilst these things were transacted in Europe, the Great Turk made use of that occasion, and whilst the Christians quarrelled among themselves thought himself secure. Wherefore he goes with fire and sword and razes Tripoli, a famous city in Asia, killing all the Christians that were there in garrison. Said and Baruti suffered the like calamity, having nobody to assist them Acre, of old called Ptolemais, stood, because they made a truce with the sultan for two years. And to defend it for time to come, Nicolas the Pope did all he could to get soldiers under Christ's banner, and paid them with his own money. They were about one thousand five hundred, but there were a great many more that followed them without being enrolled, without colours, or anybody to conduct them; who, when they were come to Acre, they did the Christians as much hurt as they did the Saracens. But the sultan demanded what was his due as he pretended, which, when the Christians refused to restore, he threatened utter ruin to them all. Then there arose a great question among the Christians who should have possession of Acre; for the Patriarch of Constantinople, the Templars of Germany, the King of Cyprus, and Charles, King of Sicily, did all lay claim to it. Those also of Pisa had a mind to demand Acre, and lawfully, as they said themselves, but that a war which broke out in Tuscany diverted them from such an ill design. For they starved Earl Ugulinus in prison, where they kept him, his two sons, and two nieces; and after that, did so far animate the Gibellines against the Guelphs that they threatened equal destruction to them all. They fell first upon those of Arezzo, because the banished Gibellines desired it, when

William Petramala was bishop of that place, who was aided by Earl Feltri the Florentine. But the Florentines did not think themselves strong enough, and therefore they sent Charles the Second also thither with some forces as he was going through their country to wait upon the Pope. Their camps were pitched near one another in the country of Tipherno, by which name they now call the city, having altered the name of the castle. Immediately as the battle was just begun there were a great many Florentines killed, but not long after the case was altered, and, though William the bishop and Earl Feltri were slain, yet there fell of the Gibellini three thousand, and two thousand were taken. The neighbours call the place where they fought Campaldino. Charles, having obtained so great a victory, goes straight to Nicolas, and gets the favour to hold of him in fee the crown of both the Sicilies, which, when James of Aragon understood, he presently goes and attacks Cajetta. But lest anything should be wanting that might disturb the quiet of Christendom, a fatal war broke out between Philip of France and Edward, King of England, which did not only trouble the Christians in Asia very much, but also gave our enemies great confidence and hopes that they should totally obliterate the Christian name throughout all Asia, for the sultan, who at that time was sick, had sent an hundred and fifty thousand men to Acre under the command of his son. But the siege continuing for two months, the father died in that time and the son succeeded him, who attacked the town with much greater resolution, for he filled the trenches, and promised all the plunder to the soldiers. But when he had fought his way to the very walls, he was beaten back by the Christians, who made a sally upon him, even to his camp, and had a great many of his men hurt in the action. Whilst they were thus employed in Asia, Nicolas, the Pope, sends two legates *à latere* (as they call them), *i.e.*, Benedictus Cajetanus and Gerard of Parma, with all speed into France, to make a peace between the two kings and animate them against the Saracens, who then besieged Acre, for he had made a peace between James of Aragon and Charles, who was a captive, upon those conditions that I told you before, that they might all be the more free to go against the common enemy. Nay, he had begun to provide a navy, as thinking himself almost sure of a peace, but to no purpose, for the kings did not obey him when he gave them good advice, nor

did they that were in garrison at Ptolemais agree so well among themselves as to keep out the enemy according to their power; for having daily lost a great many of their men, there were at that time but twelve thousand left, who afterwards made their escape in a corsair (or a swift-sailing frigate kept for that purpose), along with the Patriarch of Jerusalem. And though at first they had good shipping, yet at last they were shipwrecked near Cyprus. But the sultan entered the city when the inhabitants had left it, and destroyed it immediately with fire and sword, in the hundred and ninety-sixth year after Godfrey had taken it. But amidst so many calamities the island of Cyprus and Armenia the less, formerly called Cilicia, continued Christian. At that time Nicolas was very urgent with Rodulphus the emperor to send his army into Asia, for fear the enemy should get the remaining part of it. But Rodulphus soon after died, and Adolphus of Nassau was chosen to be his successor, who, demanding the rights of the empire, was killed in a fight at Spire by Albertus, son to Rodulphus. He was indeed a brave man, but had neither men nor money enough, and that was the reason that they said he was rather overpowered by multitude than fairly conquered. But Nicolas the Pope, through discontent, as some suppose, to see all things go cross to his expectation, and being conscious that he had favoured parties more than became a Pope, died at Rome in the fourth year, first month, and eighth day of his pontificate, near St Mary's the Great, and is there buried, at the upper end of the church, by Cardinal Columna, as you may see upon the pavement, where his picture is in porphyry. But after his death, the cardinals went to Perugia, that they might choose a Pope with greater freedom, but protracted the business by quarrels among themselves one year and eight months. In the meanwhile, Michael Palæologus, Emperor of Constantinople, dies,[1] but the priests and the monks would not suffer his body to be buried in a holy place, because he joined with the Western Church in the Council of Lyons. And, indeed, Andronicus, Michael's son, would have declared himself of the same opinion as the Latins, if he had been assisted by our party. But when the see was vacant, Andronicus was destitute of friends, and so at last apostatized from the faith. But Charles the Second, King

[1] [He died in 1282.—Ed.]

of Naples, seeing what would come of it, made a journey from Narbonne to Perugia, and exhorted the cardinals several times to agree and perfect their election. And would have continued his importunity had he not been severely rebuked by Benedict Cajetan, of Anagni, who told him that he was too urgent, and thereby seemed to lay a kind of restraint upon the cardinals, whose votes ought to be free.

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## CÆLESTIN V.

1294.

CÆLESTIN the Fifth, formerly called Petrus Morrone, by profession an anchorite, of Sergna, who dwelt in an abbey two miles from Sulmona, was made Pope at the request of King Charles and Cardinal Latinus, a thing which all people wondered at so much the more, because his holy retirement had voluntarily removed him out of the prospect of any such grandeur. After his creation he went to Aquila, and thither he summoned all the cardinals to him from Perugia But they were very importunate with him both by letters and messengers that he would come to Perugia, which was a city more agreeable to the dignity of a Pope. Notwithstanding, Cælestin's will was at last obeyed, who would needs have it so, because he understood that King Charles was of the same mind. Thereupon they went all thither, and paid such homage to Cælestin as became a Pope. Now, Ptolemy says, there were two hundred thousand men at his coronation; and that he himself was there too. I suppose the people were taken with the newness of the thing and the holiness of the person: that a man that was an Eremite should come to such honour (as if he had been preferred by heaven itself) after so long a contest between the electors. As soon as he entered upon the popedom, he made thirteen cardinals; men of the greatest integrity, of whom two were Eremites. But because he did not alter his former way of living and take upon him the grandeur of a Pope, he was so kind and accessible to all that made suit to him, as that he granted the same things to several persons, which brought not only a contempt upon his dignity, but was a lessening to the majesty of a Pope: for, indeed, he was unfit

for public business by reason of the obscure life which he had led in the wilderness. Hereupon they talked of deposing him, especially after the death of Latinus, the cardinal, a good man, by whose assistance Cælestin had hitherto made shift to support himself under so vast a burden. But some of the cardinals being very instant, especially Benedict Cajetan (a cunning man, and well skilled in the civil and canon law), who was a great favourite of the Pope's, that he would remove himself from the pontificate, lest the Church of God should be endangered by the unskilfulness of its governor, he began to think of laying down his papal office. But King Charles was so much concerned at his levity and superstition, that he takes the good man to Naples, and endeavours to convert him from such base thoughts, whilst the people cried out in all places that they would have no other Pope but Cælestin, and heartily beseeched his Holiness that so it might be. To whom the Pope made answer: That he would do nothing but what God would have him do, and what he thought might be for the good of Christendom. At that the cardinals that desired he would leave the papacy were very urgent with him to do it as soon as he could, telling him the danger all Christendom was in by his ignorance, and that all the mischiefs that then befell the Church would be put to his account at doomsday. The holy, simple man was moved with what they said, and told them he would do as they would have him, if it might lawfully be done. Whereupon there was an order made by unanimous consent, that the Pope should have liberty to depose himself. Which constitution Boniface the Eighth, his successor, afterward confirmed, as appears in the sixth book of the Decretals. Then Cælestin returned to his private life again, and gave the cardinals power to put another Pope in his place in the sixth month of his pontificate. And Benedict Cajetan by that means, having most votes, was chosen Pope, who seized upon Cælestin by the way as he was going into his hermitage, committing him to the custody of the governor of a certain castle called Fumone in Campagna di Roma. For which he said his reason was, lest the authors of sedition should one time or other bring some calamity upon the Church of God under his conduct, although he really admired the sanctity of the man. However, this is certain that Boniface was very ungrateful, as well as subtle: first, to chuse a good man out of his dignity to satisfy his own ambition, and then to take him (when he would have

retired again to his solitude) and keep him in prison till he died for very grief before his time in seventeen months after he first came to the pontificate. There are some that say this Cælestin was so famous for miracles after his death, that there were frequent discourses in councils about his canonization, and that many people worshipped him as a saint, and put him in the catalogue of confessors. His anniversary is kept every year on the 17th of July (which was the day of his death) by an order of Clement the Fifth made at Avignon (1313).

## BONIFACE VIII.

1294-1303.

BONIFACE the Eighth, born at Anagni, in Campagna di Roma, formerly called Benedict Cajetan, was made Pope at Naples upon Christmas Eve, in the year 1294. He was a man of great learning and experience: as having lived long in public, and risen to the Popedom by all the degrees of honour, though not without some imputation of pride and ambition. For whilst he was cardinal-priest of St Martins in the Mount, he was so desirous of the papal dignity that he omitted no fraudulent or other indirect means that might in his opinion conduce to his obtaining of it. Besides he was a man of that arrogance that he contemned everybody, and recalled some indulgences granted by Nicolas the Fourth and Cælestin the Fifth. He also persecuted the Gibellines extremely: from whence arose that quarrel between the Pope and the Gibellines of Columna, who also maintained their party against the Pope at Anagni. Thereupon he began to calumniate and traduce them in general, but especially two cardinals, Peter and James, two famous men of the same family; that upon the death of several Popes they had wasted the Church's treasure, and spread abroad scandalous pamphlets against his own person. For after he had done them injury they did indeed write to several kings, princes, and states concerning Boniface's arrogance and ambition; how he had possessed himself of the Papal see against all right and reason, after he cheated Cælestin out of it, and then put him in prison. For there are some that write, how Boniface sent some cunning rogues privately

in the night-time to speak in a strange tone through Cælestin's chamber-wall, and tell the poor, simple man (as it were by a voice from heaven) that he must lay down the popedom if he would be saved. The cardinals were cited but did not appear, because they feared Boniface's severity and resolution. Wherefore they retired to Nepi with all the family of the Columnese; and being declared schismatics by a public decree, they had their benefices, dignities, estates, castles, and towns taken from them. Which deprivation Boniface afterward reduced into the form of a decree, as appears in the book called *Sextus*. After that Boniface raised a great many men and arms to quell them, and besieged Palestrina, where they were ingarrisoned with one Sciarra, a famous man, who was their uncle. And when they got away from thence, after he took and plundered the town, he pursued them to Zagaruola and Columna: from whence also they were forced to fly not long after by reason or the multitude of their enemies, by whom these castles likewise were destroyed, but especially that of Columna, which was their native country. But the cardinals got away from thence too, and went to Rieti, though Sciarra stayed a long time in the woods at Antium for fear of Boniface's cruelty. But falling into the hands of certain pirates, he was put to the oar, and by that means suffered a great deal of misery, though he was more willing to endure banishment and hardship in that manner than to feel Boniface's tyranny, who hated the whole race of the Gibellines. It is well known what he said to Porchetto, Archbishop of Genoa, when he came and laid himself at his feet upon an Ash Wednesday; for whereas the priest uses to say, Remember, man, that thou art ashes, and into ashes shalt thou return; he altered some of the words, and said, Remember, man, that thou art a Gibelline, and with the rest of the Gibellines into ashes shalt thou return: and, with that, he threw some ashes into his eyes, not upon his head, as the custom is. Nay, he deprived him of his archbishopric for the very name of the Gibellines; though he restored him afterward, when he understood that the cardinals of Columna did not go to Genoa, as he supposed they had done. The Columnese being banished in this sort, Boniface appointed a double anniversary, one in honour of the apostles and evangelists, and another in honour of those four doctors of the Church, Gregory, Austin, Jerome, and Ambrose. He likewise canonized Lewis (one of the King of France's family, son

to Charles the Second, who, some say, was professed of the Order of St Francis) whilst he was at Civita-Vecchia. After that he turned out the secular canons from the cathedral of Alby, and put regulars in their room, at the request of Bernard Castanetus, bishop of the place. He also put forth a sixth volume, or code of the pontifical or canon law, which was compiled by three very learned men (according to his order), with the addition of some new decrees of his own. The city of Gubio, which by the instigation of the Gibellines had revolted from the Church, he in a short time recovered. He denied Albertus, Duke of Austria, to confirm him in the empire, though he petitioned for it several times. But when James of Aragon was dead, and Robert, son of Charles, and Duke of Calabria or Terra d'Otranto was gone over into Sicily, and had taken Catina, there broke out such a war of a sudden, that almost all Italy was in an uproar. For the Sicilians, who favoured the Aragonese, got a navy together, and not only conquered Philip, Robert's brother, but took him and put him in prison. Whereupon Robert left Catina, and returned into Italy without accomplishing his designs; but Frederick of Aragon coming out of Spain with an army into Sicily, did not only recover all Sicily, but Terra d'Otranto too. In Tuscany those of Genoa did burn with so much hatred against the inhabitants of Pisa, that they not only took Leghorn and burnt it, but they sunk merchants' ships in the mouth of the river, to hinder the men of Pisa from sailing out. These things were carried on in Italy, to the no small detriment of the country: whilst the Pope sat still, nor would interpose his authority to make peace in any place. And lest you should think heaven was at peace with mankind, there was of a sudden such an earthquake as never was known before, which lasted at several places a great many days, and threw down many houses. The Pope was then, with all the whole court, at Rieti; and fearing lest he should be knocked on the head with the fall of houses, he caused a little hut to be built of small planks, in a wide field which was in the cloister of the friars preachers; and there he kept for some time, though it were bitter cold weather. For this commotion began upon St Andrew's day. There appeared also at that time a comet, which was a sign of some great calamity to come. But Boniface, after so many and such continued earthquakes, came to himself, and made several cardinals, of which number were

the Archbishop of Toledo, Richard of Siena, Nicolas of Treviso, master of the order of Preachers, John Murro, general of the Minors, and one Peter, a Spaniard. He also kept a jubilee in the year 1300, and gave a full pardon of all their sins to those that had visited the apostles' tombs, after the manner that is prescribed in the Old Testament, though the Jews at first had quite another sentiment of this affair; for they kept a jubilee every fiftieth year, wherein debtors were released from their creditors, as Josephus says, and servants or slaves challenged their freedom, from whence the jubilee imports liberty both in mind and body. For they are truly said to be free whose sins are forgiven. He commanded it to be kept every hundredth year. For this reason, that year, there came such a multitude of people to Rome from all parts, that you could hardly stir in the streets, though they are very large and spacious, it was so thronged. There came to Rome at that time Charles, Earl of Valois, brother to Philip of France, who married the daughter of Baldwin, late Emperor of Constantinople, and got leave of Boniface, that his father-in-law might endeavour to recover the empire, of which by force he had been deprived. Boniface was willing to gratify him, because he intended to make use of their assistance toward sending an army into Asia to recover Jerusalem. But whilst things were coming to a settlement he made Charles sole governor of Peter's patrimony, and sent a legate into Tuscany to appease the new broils there; for, instead of Gibellines and Guelphs, they were called whites and blacks. But the legate could do no good, though he threatened to interdict them; nor could Charles of Valois, who came thither by the Pope's order, restrain the Florentines so much, but that they did drive the Albi, or Whites, out of their city and kill a great many of them besides; for, at that time, the Gibelines were called the Whites. But the Pope having long premeditated of his expedition to Jerusalem, he sends the Bishop of Apamea to Philip, King of France, to exhort him into the same design. He went; but when he came thither and could do no good by fair words, he was fain to make use of menaces, at which Philip was very angry and threw him into prison, which, when the Pope understood, he sent the Archdeacon of Narbonne, an excellent person, thither immediately, to command Philip, in his name, to set the Bishop of Apamea at liberty. If he would not do it, he bid him declare publicly that the

kingdom of France was fallen to the Church by Philip's contumacy, and forasmuch as he had broken the law of nations; and ordered him farther to lay a curse upon him, and absolve all the French from their allegiance. The Archdeacon did all this very cheerfully, and compelled the king to dismiss the bishop. But the king, having a mind to take some part of a revenge for the injuries offered to him by the Pope, set forth an edict that no man should go out of his kingdom to Rome or send money thither. The second year after the jubilee Charles of Valois went to Charles the Second, his cousin, at whose coming Frederick of Aragon was concerned, and desired a peace, which he obtained upon condition that he, restoring what he had taken in Italy, should keep Sicily as long as he lived. But when Charles of Valois went out of Tuscany the Whites, who were driven out of Florence, went in great numbers to Forli; among whom there was one Dantes Aldegerius, a very learned man, and an excellent poet in his mother tongue. This person endeavoured to return into his own country several times, but in vain; although he were assisted by the Bolognians, and Canegrandis, Governor of Verona, with whom he lived afterward for some time in all the freedom of conversation. There are some authors that tell us how Boniface about this time caused the body of one Hermanius, that had been worshipped in Ferrara as a saint for twenty years, to be taken out of the ground and burned, because he had made a strict inquiry into his heretical opinions. I suppose he was one of the Fratricelli, or holy brotherhood, whose sect at that time was very numerous. In the meantime Philip, King of France, taking Boniface's arrogance very ill, called an assembly at Paris of the clergy and nobility; and, recounting the injuries that Boniface had done to him, his ambition, and cheats which he had used to get the Popedom, which he was unjustly possessed of, he appealed to the see apostolic, which, he said, was then vacant, and to the next council. At which Boniface, being startled, called a general council, wherein he declared Philip and his kingdom subject to Albert the Emperor,[1] whom in the beginning of his pontificate he had repulsed. Then Philip, thinking to tame his pride, sent Sciarra of Columna (who was known and redeemed from the pirates at Marseilles) with Nogaretius, a French cavalier and a trusty soul, to Rome, for no other end (as he

[1] [Albert of Austria, 1298-1308.—Ed.]

declared himself) but to publish his appeal. But he had a quite different design. For Sciarra, putting on the disguise of a slave, went into Campagna di Roma; where, gathering to him as many friends as he could, he sent Nogaretius with two hundred French horse, which he had listed out of Charles of Valois's army, before to Ferentino, to assist him, if need were. But himself went into Anagni privately in the night, and by the assistance of the Gibellines, whom Boniface had teased extremely for a long time, he broke the door open, and took the Pope by surprise in the house where he was born, and so brought him to Rome; where thirty-five days after he died for grief, in the eighth year, ninth month, and seventeenth day of his pontificate. He was buried in St Peter's, in a tomb that he built himself before he died, which is yet to be seen in a chapel which he made of fret-work. He likewise built the pulpit and the portico in the Lateran, where curses are pronounced upon the sacrament, and where he laid that curse upon Philip, King of France, and the Columnese. Thus died Boniface, who made it his business rather to infuse terror than religion into emperors, kings, princes, nations, and states; and would pretend to give and take away kingdoms, to banish and to recall men, as he thought fitting, to satisfy his pride and covetousness, which were unspeakable. Therefore let other princes, as well religious as secular, learn by his example to govern the clergy and the laity, not proudly and disdainfully, as this party of whom we speak, but holily and modestly, as Christ our King, and His disciples, and true followers. And let them desire rather to be beloved than feared, which is usually the just bane of tyrants. Some say he cherished the feuds among the Italians, especially between the Genoese and the Venetians, who were two States very powerful at sea.[1]

[1] [Some of the most important events of history belonging to this eventful pontificate are entirely unnamed by our author. We can only name the beginning of the great contest between England and Scotland, the statute of Mortmain, and the Bulls "Clericis Laicos," "Ineffabilis," "Ausculta fili," "Unum Sanctum."—Ed.]

## BENEDICT XI.

### 1303-1304.

BENEDICT the Eleventh, an Italian of Treviso, formerly called Nicolas, Cardinal of Ostia, was made Pope the first of November. at Rome. For he entered himself into the Order of Preachers when he was but young; and so far prevailed upon the fraternity, both by his virtue and learning, that they preferred him gradually through all offices till he was made general. From which station he was chosen Pope, and in that place also gave great demonstration of his virtue. For he lived after such a manner that he may well be reckoned among the number of those that are in bliss. But as soon as he got into the apostolical chair he cites Nogaretius and Sciarra, and all those of Anagni that conspired to take Boniface, to come before him; but they not appearing, he laid a heavy curse upon them. He likewise heard King Philip's cause, and absolved him from Boniface's censures. And after that he received John and James, the two cardinals of Colonna, into favour, whom Boniface persecuted for being of the Guelphian faction, more than became a Pope to do. Nay, he gave them their goods again, only he enjoined them to let the red hat that Boniface had taken from them lie by for some short time. Having settled the affairs of the city in this manner, and made some cardinals (of whom Nicolas, a Piatese, of the Order of Preachers, was one), he immediately applies himself to procure a general peace in Italy. And because there were greater tumults in Tuscany than anywhere else, he sent Nicolas, Bishop of Ostia, thither with full commission; who made new officers in Florence, and put them into the house which they had built for the reception of magistrates, now called the Palais of their Lords. But at that time Nicolas thought he might do more than so, and therefore spoke about recalling the persons that were banished: which proposal not taking effect as he would have had it, he declared a curse upon them, and went to Prato. But not long after, Benedict dying, Tuscany was again in an uproar, for the banished of all places met near Bologna, resolving immediately to enter Florence, and thereupon in the night getting over the walls, which were not then finished, near the gate that leads to Bologna,

they advanced as far as the Church of St Separata, that was begun to be built a little before. But whilst they looked too eagerly after the plunder, and consulted their friends what they had best to do, they gave their enemies time to take courage and raise arms, insomuch that they quickly drove them out, and killed a great many of their men. Then they got Robert, Duke of Calabria, to be their general, and were grown confident that they had strength enough, not only to defend their own, but to attack their neighbours too. Hereupon they besiege Pistoja, which those within it did so bravely defend that with one sally they beat Robert and all his army back to Prato. Benedict, who was a very good and holy man, resolved, when he had quieted Italy, to assist against the Tartars, who were fallen into Syria and Palestine, having been solicited to it by frequent messages. But dying at Perugia (where he and all the court were), in the eighth month and seventeenth day of his pontificate, he missed his design.[1] He was buried with due pomp, in the Church of the Friars Preachers, the fifth of June, in the year 1303. Now the miracles which he did after his death show him to have been an excellent, holy man, for he cured the sick and cast out devils. The see was then vacant from the fifth of June to the seventh of July in the year ensuing, although the cardinals that were kept in the conclave for that purpose were importuned and sometimes threatened to make choice of a Pope.

## CLEMENT V.

### 1305-1314.

CLEMENT the Fifth, a Gascon, Archbishop of Bordeaux, formerly called Bertrandus Gottho, was made Pope in his absence at Perugia, though the college of cardinals had a long debate about the election. But he, approving of their choice, went from Bourdeaux to Lyons, and called all the cardinals thither to him, who obeyed him without any scruple, so that the Court of Rome was translated into France in the year 1305. And there it remained for seventy-four years, to

[1] [He was poisoned at Perugia, whither he had removed for safety.—Ed.]

the great damage of all Christendom, but especially of Rome, where the churches, great part of them, fell to ruin for want of use, whilst they were absent that ought to have taken care to repair them. There were present at the coronation of this Pope, Philip, King of France, and his brother Charles, lately returned from Italy, John, Duke of Bretagne, who, together with some others, was killed by a wall that fell upon him whilst the coronation pomp was going, as is usual, through the city. Philip also was a little hurt by the same accident. But the Pope, though he was in such a consternation that he fell from his horse, yet he lost nothing but one carbuncle out of his crown, that some say was valued at £6000. When the solemnity was over, and all things in order, Clement made a great many French cardinals, but none out of Italy, though, indeed, he did restore John and James of Colonna to their entire dignity of cardinalate, which they formerly enjoyed. Besides that he sent three cardinals to Rome, with the character of senators; to govern not only the city, but all Italy by their conduct. But when he saw the Genoese and those of Pisa involved in a bloody war one against the other, and that Sardinia in the meantime was taken by the Saracens, he gave that island to Frederick, King of Sicily, upon condition that he should beat out the enemy and recover it as soon as possible: the Venetians, making a league with Charles the Second against the Emperor of Constantinople, induced King Rassianus to come and desire of the Pope to be instructed in the orthodox faith, in the year 1307. But the Venetians and Charles falling out again, they altered Russianus's mind by their ill example. In the meantime a new heresy was broached at Novara by Dulcinus and Margaret, which allowed men and women who lived together freely to exercise all acts of uncleanness: and the professors of it were called the Brotherhood. Clement endeavoured to suppress them, and immediately sent thither a party of soldiers, with a legate apostolical; who, partly with cold and hunger, partly with force of arms, routed them from the Alps, where they harboured. But Dulcinus and Margaret were taken alive, torn in pieces, and their bones burnt and scattered into the air. About that time intelligence was brought that the Templars, who were formerly Christ's soldiers, had revolted to the Saracens. For this reason all of them that could be apprehended were killed, and their goods given partly to the

Rhodian Knights, who had possessed themselves of that island a little before, and partly to religious uses.[1] Philip also, King of France, turned all the Jews out of his territories, confiscating their goods for their rogueries and their covetousness. Not long after, Albert the Emperor being killed by his nephew John, almost all the cities of Lombardy chose their captains or governors to be their sovereign lords; as at Verona, the Scaligeri, at Mantua, the Bonacossi, at Padu, the Carraresi. The house of Este had been masters of Ferrara a long time before, but now they reduced Modena also. Nor did Charles the Second, King of Naples, think it below him to marry his daughter Beatrice to Azo, Marquis d'Este. But Friscus, his son, seeing he had gotten a step-mother, put his father in prison, and there murdered him: and then possessed himself of Ferrara, by the assistance of the Venetians, who lent him aid to storm a castle called Thedaldo. Then the cardinal Pelagura was sent to Bologna from Clement, to forbid the Venetians from meddling with Ferrara under the pain of a curse; those of Ferrara desiring to be under the Church Wherefore the Venetians, thinking it their best way to make haste, attacked the castle night and day till at last they took it. Which when they had done, Friscus himself, greedy of revenge, set fire on half Ferrara, especially their houses, who seemed to desire a change. The citizens now not able to endure so great an injury any longer, taking up arms, turned Friscus out of his usurped sovereignty and surrendered themselves to the Venetians, who in all probability might be able to defend them. At which Pelagura was very much incensed, and mustered up all the Church forces immediately against the Venetians and those of Ferrara. But Clement, understanding how obstinate, and how desirous of dominion the Venetians were, laid a curse upon them with an interdiction: commanding all persons, wherever, to look upon them as no better than slaves, and to take away whatever they had from them, by which that trading nation suffered great damage both in England and France. After this the Pope sent other cardinals into Tuscany, which was all one scene of war, to command Robert, Duke of Calabria, the

[1] [Anything more meagre and unsatisfactory than this notice of the suppression of the great Order of the Templars could not well be imagined It would of course be impossible to give any account of it in a note. We can only chronicle the fact that it took place.—Ed.]

Florentines, and the other people of that province, to break up their siege of Pistoja. They all obeyed him, save only the Florentines and those of Lucca; so that he interdicted those two States. But Robert went away for Avignon to compliment the Pope, and then the Pistojese, tired out by this long siege, at length concluded upon a surrender. The Florentines and those of Lucca pulled down the walls of the city as soon as they had taken it, and filling up the trenches, divided the country among them, leaving to the citizens their lives only, the city itself remaining equally subject to both. But it was not long before the Florentines made themselves sole masters of it, by walling it round within the trenches, contrary to the articles agreed upon by them and those of Lucca. And that they might make all things the more secure, they bought Aciano, a castle belonging to the Ubaldini, which they pulled down: and in the plain not far distant, they built Scarparia, as some few years before they had done Castle-Franco and St John's in the Valley of Arno. Cardinal Orsini was now sent into Tuscany, to compose the differences; whom the Florentines and those of Lucca contemned, and thereby put him into such a passion, that he publicly reiterated his curses and his interdiction. For that reason the Florentines revenged themselves upon the clergy by exactions very long and very much. Nay, farther, they used such severity upon this occasion, that they put Cursio Donato (an eminent citizen and one that had deserved well of the public) to death, for marrying Ugutio Fagiolanis' daughter; such enemies they were to all nobility. But afterwards they were received into the Pope's favour for assisting Pelagru, the legate, in the recovery of Ferrara, and the Castle of Thedaldo, which was in possession of the Venetians, in the year 1309. Charles the Second of Naples dying the same year, his son Robert was sent by the Pope to be his successor; but he went to Bologna to Pelagru, who presently in the name of the Church made him governor of Ferrara while it was yet in arms. But he was to go on towards Naples, and so left Dego Catelano, an eminent person, with a troop of horse in the garrison. This Dego, seeing he could not contain the people of Ferrara within their duty by fair or foul words, sent his horse down upon them from the castle, and killed a great many of them, hanging up eight and twenty of the house of Este, who aspired to the dominion. At that time Henry of

Luxemburg was chosen emperor by the Germans, and confirmed by the Pope upon condition, that he should come into Italy within two years and receive his crown at Rome. This the Pope did to the end that the commotions in Italy would be suppressed by the arrival of the emperor, who promised to perform what the Pope had enjoined him, and immediately sent agents into Italy to all the States and princes there, but chiefly to the Florentines, who at that time harassed them of Arezzo. The Florentines made answer, that so great a prince as he was did not do prudently, in endeavouring to bring foreigners into Italy, which was a country that, as emperor, he ought to defend from such with his utmost power. And that he did not do well to protect them of Arezzo, who, he knew had banished the Guelphs, their fellow-citizens: whereas it was the emperor's prerogative alone to banish or to recall from exile. They say that Dante then told the Florentines, they were blind, for making such a foolish answer to the emperor, than which nothing could be more to the disadvantage of their State, especially when so great and warlike a prince with so great an army approached them. But indeed they were encouraged by the promises of King Robert, who as he went into his kingdom, gave them assurance that he would always be a patron to the Guelphian faction. The emperor was now advanced as far as Piedmont, where in the plains all the princes, or governors of cities, came to meet him. There were at that time two principal factions in Milan, the Turriani, and the Visconti. Guido della Torre was head of the Guelphs, as being captain of the people (to use their own word), and Matteo Visconti of the Gibellines. And Guido, fearing lest the Visconti should get into Henry's favour before him upon the account of their faction, he raised an army and encamped in the country of Milan, to see, as he himself said, who durst come into that city without his leave. When at the same time Matteo sent agents to the emperor to invite him to Milan, which was a city, he told him, that was the very mansion-house of the Roman Empire. Thereupon Henry drew his forces near to the city, and made a great bustle, though Guido was got in before him. But he allayed all tumults by a composition which he made upon these terms; that Guido should have Marcelli, and Matteo be captain-general of his horse. And thus the emperor having got possession of Milan, almost all the adjacent cities surrendered

presently, except Alessandria. Then he received the iron crown at Milan [1311], according to custom, but put the citizens to so much expense, that the commonalty finding themselves rather oppressed than vested with the liberty they expected, betook themselves to their arms: the Germans seeing their men killed by both factions, went out of the suburbs into the city, and called the heads of the parties to them. But Galeatius, son to Matteo Visconti, left his father at home and went with a considerable number of supplicants to wait upon the emperor, and told him, that the Turriani, affecting sovereignty, had made that uproar in the city. Whereupon the Germans, joining the Gibelline faction, drove the Turriani (after some small resistance at St Mary's, New Street) out of the city: from whence they fled in great numbers to Vercelli by the persuasion of Guido, thirty of this faction being killed, of which four were Turriani. After this Henry moved toward Cremona and Crema, and called the Guelphs before him there who had turned out the Gibellines, but he dealt kindly with the Cremonese, because they rendered themselves so freely, though he was a little severer upon the Cremese, and demolished their walls. Which struck such terror into those of Parma (who, by the persuasion of one Gilbert Correggio, had received the Rossi into their town), that immediately they drove out the Guelphs and took in the emperor's lieutenant. Those of Brescia defended themselves for some time, but being smartly attacked by Henry, they fled in the night to the mountains, and left the city quite empty. The Germans entered it presently, and pulled down the walls; at which calamities of their neighbours, the people of Mantua, Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Treviso, and Venice were so affrighted that they immediately submitted to the emperor's orders. Those also of Piacenza turned out Albertus Scotus, captain of the Guelphs, and took in the emperor's governor. Having settled affairs after this manner in Lombardy, the emperor went through Piacenza to Genoa, along with Amadeus of Savoy, attended by the agents from Pisa and Genoa. Thither came ambassadors from Robert of Naples and Frederick, King of Sicily, not long after; the former to make a show of friendship, and the latter to assure him of the real love which they had for him. For Robert had sent his mareschal into Tuscany with two thousand horse to assist the Florentines and those of Lucca, if need were, against the

emperor. But Henry went by sea to Pisa, and having sent his land forces before him, did the men of Lucca a great deal of damage. Hitherto I thought fit to relate all the inconveniences which were brought upon the Italians, which some impute wholly to Clement, who solicited Henry to come with an army into Italy: whilst others tell us that Clement did it for the advantage of the country, because of the civil discords among them, which were the cause of much bloodshed in every city, nay, in every little castle. The citizens were slain, old men murdered, young children dashed against the ground, with a boundless cruelty. Whereupon Clement used that saying of Homer, "Let there be but one chief lord, one judge of all matters." Henry went on toward Rome, and sent Lewis of Savoy, son to Amadeus, with five hundred horse before, who, taking up his quarters at one Stephen Colonna's house, near the Lateran, put the Orsini faction in a terrible fear But Henry came first to Viterbo, and thence to Rome, where he was very kindly received, not only by all the nobility, but by the citizens in general After that, being crowned by three cardinals, he made the Romans swear allegiance to him, as the custom is, and made a great feast, to which he invited all the noblemen of the city, except the Orsini. But lest in such a concourse of people there should arise any tumult through the animosities of some men, he planted his soldiers in the theatres, baths, and other fortified places; in the strength of which guards he was so confident, that he had the courage to demand of the people a tribute which they never used to pay. Hereupon all the citizens of both factions fled to the Orsini, who had set good guards about their house, which stood near the Tiber, and hard by Hadrian's Bridge At that the emperor was so enraged, that he summoned the sea archers, whom the men of Pisa had sent him, to march into the city against the Romans; but they were surprised and soon routed by John, the brother of King Robert, who had placed his sea forces under the Mount di St Sabina. He also let in the horse, who quartered not far off, and, by the aid of the Roman people, forced the emperor himself to retreat as far as Tivoli. After him John, Robert's brother, went away by command from the cardinals, and left the city quiet. But Henry, going from Perugia, arrived at Arezzo, where he accused Robert, the king, of treason; and because he did not appear upon summons, deprived him of his kingdom, against the

mind of Clement, who thought he had done a thing of such consequence in a very improper place, besides, that it was none of his prerogative. For he said it was the Pope's peculiar province to dispose of the kingdom of Sicily on both sides of the Pharo. The emperor, marching from Arezzo, led his army toward Florence and Lucca, who were allies to Robert, but seeing he was not able to storm a town, he possessed himself of Poggibonci; which, when he had fortified, he declared war against the Senese, because they were so niggardly and sparing in supplying him with provisions. But falling sick, he went to the bath at Macerata, from whence he came back to Bonconvento much weaker than he was before. There, after some days, he died; but it was suspected he was poisoned by a monk at Florence, who was induced by large rewards and promises to give him the Eucharist dipped in poison. The State of Pisa (now that the emperor was dead) feared the power of the Florentines, and therefore chose Ugutio Fagiolano their captain and sole governor, who, not long after, reduced those of Lucca, and took away their lands from them by the assistance of the cavalry that had served under Henry. In the meantime Clement was very much troubled not only at all the other evils that Italy underwent, but that St Constantine's Church should be burnt down. Wherefore he sent money to the clergy and people of Rome toward the repair of that church, though there was such scarcity and dearth in his country at that time that he could hardly buy himself victuals and drink, which miseries were foretold by frequent eclipses of the sun, several comets, and the plague, which was almost epidemical. But Clement applied himself to settle the state of the Church, and therefore he exercised his episcopal function three times, not only in making several cardinals, who were excellent men, but in three councils which he called in several places and at several times he did many things with prudence and deliberation. For he suppressed Dulcinus's sect (as I told you) that opposed the churchmen, and took off the Templars, who were fallen into very great errors (as denying Christ, &c.), and gave their goods to the knights of Jerusalem. He likewise withstood the King of France at Poictou, when he made unreasonable and unhandsome demands, for the king would have had Boniface censured and Nogaretius and Sciarra absolved. The first request he never

obtained;[1] but the second he at last granted to him, upon Nogaretius's promise that he would go against the Saracens for penance—which expedition Clement himself had a great mind to, as appears by his councils. Afterwards he canonized Cælestin the Fifth by the name of Peter the Confessor, because approved by miracles; and set forth the Clementines, which he composed during the council at Vienne.[2] But in succeeding time he was afflicted with divers diseases: for he was troubled sometimes with a dysentery, sometimes with a pain in his stomach, or his sides, of which he died in the eighth year, tenth month, fifteenth day of his pontificate. The see was then vacant two years, three months, and seventeen days, whilst the cardinals were at a stand whom they should choose. Nor was there less discord among the electors of the empire, upon the death of Henry, some proposing Lewis of Bavaria, others Frederick, Duke of Austria. And these two engaging in war, one against the other, Frederick was conquered: at which Lewis grew so proud, that he not only called himself emperor, without authority from Rome; but favoured the Visconti in Lombardy, so far, that they got into Milan. And this he did to make his own passage more easy toward Rome, where he was to receive a golden crown according to the usual custom. Then began the people of Tuscany, and all the Guelphs to tremble, when they saw Lewis emperor, and that he was likely to recover all the rights of the empire in a short time, by the help of the Visconti and Ugutio Fagiolani, who was sole governor of Pisa and Lucca. Wherefore they endeavoured to bring over to their party by promises and presents, Petramala, Bishop

[1] [It is difficult to understand how Platina can bring himself to think so. The Papal judgment declared the King of France free of blame, and he had accused Boniface of some of the foulest crimes that ever disgraced the earth. See Milman, iv., pp. 210-218.]

[2] [This council was held in 1311 (Oct. 15 to Nov. 1). Its chief work was the suppression of the Templars. It also aimed at the suppression of the monstrous abuses which were now patent to the eyes of all men; but it was a lifeless affair. The prelates assembled, variously reckoned from 300 to 140, were more bent upon protesting against the domination of the French king than upon anything else. And when three cardinals rose up to defend the memory of Pope Boniface, and two Spanish knights offered to do battle for him, the Pope held his peace, and the King of France had to be content with an edict that he was not to be prejudiced for anything that he had done.]

and Lord of Arezzo, and Philip of Tarento, a prince and brother to King Robert For Philip at that time was very strong in cavalry, and a very good soldier.[1]

## JOHN XXII.

### 1316-1334.

JOHN the Twenty-Second, formerly called James of Caturco, Bishop of Porto, after a long debate between twenty-three cardinals, was chosen Pope at Lyons, and the fifth of September received the pontifical crown in the Cathedral Church there. From thence he removed with the whole court to Avignon, where he made eight cardinals in the Ember-week before Advent some of which were James of Caturco, his sister's son, and John Cajetan, cardinal deacon of St Theodore's, of the family of the Orsini. Besides that, he canonized, for a confessor, Lewis, Bishop of Toulouse, son to Charles, late King of Sicily, though there are some that ascribe this act to Boniface, as I told you before. He forced Hugo, Bishop of Caturco, to relinquish his bishopric and priesthood, and stripped him of all his pontifical ornaments, as the ring, the mitre, the coife, the cap, and the rochet. And after he had deprived, degraded, and (to use their own phrase) delivered him over to the secular jurisdiction, he was tortured to death for conspiring against the Pope.[2] The Church of Toulouse, which he loved entirely, he made an archbishopric, and improved six castles that belonged to it into so many cities, that the archbishop might have something under him which was honourable and worth his governing. He also joined Limosa, *i e*, Wiselburg, and the Abbey of St Pontius to the archbishopric of Narbonne; nay, so much addicted was he to novelties, that he divided some single bishoprics into two, and united others that were distinct, turning abbeys

[1] [The rise of the Teutonic order merits mention here.]

[2] [The Pope was a profound believer in the existence of magical powers. One of the most common practices of the time was the making a wax image of the person to be cursed and melting it at a slow fire, that the victim might in like manner waste away. It was on a charge of this deed that Bishop Hugh was thus degraded, and afterwards flayed alive, and torn to pieces by wild horses.—ED.]

into bishoprics and bishoprics into abbeys. He likewise created new dignities and new societies in the Church, and altered those which had been formerly constituted. Yet he was so grateful that he confirmed the design by setting forth that book called "Clementinæ," or "Rules of Clement;" and commanded all doctors in public schools to read it for lectures He reduced the Order of Gramont, which had been corrupted by some factious fellows, into a better form, by taking away such things as might be inconvenient, and adding other things that might keep up the grandeur of religion. He loved the Church of Saragoza so well that he made the city a metropolis, and assigned it the government of five cathedrals out of eleven, which were under the Archbishop of Tarragona. He also created a new Order of Knights [1319] to fight under Christ's banner in Portugal, and oppose the Saracens in Granada and Africa. Bœtica was the old name for Granada, which lies to the Mediterranean, and is so called, I suppose, from the abundance it yields of a sort of grain that dyers use. Now, the head-quarters of this Order, which the Pope constituted, was in a seaport town in the diocese of Sylva, and the knights had all the Templars' goods by consent of the King of Portugal, that they might be more at leisure to fight for Christ. Their censor and moderator is the abbot of a monastery of Cistercians at Alcoasia in the diocese of Lisbon, who has the power to list and disband a knight as he pleases. Afterward he made two St Thomases,—that is to say, Thomas, Bishop of Hereford, a man of great family, a good life, extraordinary learning, and famous for his miracles, and Thomas Aquinas, a celebrated doctor of the Order of St Dominic, of whose life and writings I have formerly made several remarks. Not long after he created seven cardinals at a second ordination, in the year 1322: and presently thereupon he set forth an edict, to declare all those for obstinate heretics, who affirmed that Christ and His disciples had nothing which they could call their own; which certainly does not much agree with the Scripture, that tells us in many places how Christ, His disciples, and true followers had a real propriety in nothing. as in that passage of the Gospel where it says, "He that does not sell all that he has and give to the poor, cannot be my disciple." Nay, more than that, he accounted every one an heretic that said the disciples, as such, had not power to sell, to give, to bequeath, and to get, because when they

entered into religion, they were to be under the will of another, which is the reason that slaves do not gain anything for themselves, but their master, or give the poor what they formerly got, if he command them. And of these positions he sent apostolical transcripts to all public schools, that the scholars might not dare to dispute of that matter any more. Moreover, he condemned the opinion of one friar Peter, of the Order of Minors, who had animated a whole convent of the third Order to imitate Christ's poverty: of which number many were condemned and burned.[1] After that, he made ten cardinals more, among whom he considered John Colonna and his brother, Matthew, who were of the Orsini family, and of the Order of Preachers. Whilst the Pope was employed in these affairs, the Florentine army was overcome in a bloody fight by Ugutio Fagiolani, not far from the Mount Catino. But those of Lucca, not able to endure the tyranny of Ugutio any longer, took an occasion and turned Nerius, his son, out of the city, whilst he was going to punish Castruccio, a person of a noble family and good courage, whom he had put in prison, that he might get the spoils which Castruccio had taken from the enemies Nerius, being banished out of Lucca, incensed his father against that State, upon whom those of Pisa shut their gates, as he was going out of the city to meet the enemy. Upon that, he and his son escaped to Malaspina, after he had often attempted, and been as often frustrated in the recovery of his sovereignty; but by command from the Pope he came back at last into Romagna, which was his native country. By this means Castruccio was promoted from extreme misery to the greatest happiness: for he was taken out of prison and made sole governor of Lucca. But the Pope hearing that the Estese had routed the Church forces out of Ferraia, and gotten it totally into their own hands; and that the Visconti, by assistance of Lewis of Bavaria, had made themselves masters of Milan, he said, he would let the Estese alone for a while; but interdicted the Visconti, though he was not so angry with them as with Lewis, who usurped the title of emperor. At the same time the Gibellines of Genoa were banished by their fellow-citizens the Guelphs, assisted by King Robert, to whom they had committed the

[1] [This Pope was much given to theological speculations and to the advancement of novelties of view. At his own court his cardinals accused him strenuously of heresy. See Milman, iv., 314.]

government of their city, and fled in great numbers to Savona [1317]. But there, too, some time after, Robert persecuted them every one in their exile, and reduced the Savonese, as he went into France.

The Pope, understanding that the Guelphs were generally oppressed after Robert's departure, sent Charles, Earl of Valois, the son of Philip, King of France, into Italy, to protect the Guelphs, and those especially that were at Vercelli with the Turriani, who were lords of that city. But Galeazzo Visconti, by command from Lewis the emperor, prevented Charles, and expelled the Turriani out of Vercelli before he came; upon which that city became subject to the Visconti. Not long after Castruccio gets into Pistoja, as Guido Petramala a little before had into Tipherno, though the Florentines withstood him. But Castruccio, relying upon the aid of Galeazzo Visconti (for he had sent his son, Accio, with one thousand, five hundred soldiers to assist him), pursued and beat the Florentines back to the very walls, killing a great many men [1323]. The Pope, seeing the Bavarians resolved to embroil all things, interdicted him with the usual ceremonies; and degraded Guido Petramala from the priesthood, after he had got possession of Tipherno. He also separated Cortono from the bishopric of Arezzo, and made it a city of itself, making John of Viterbo bishop of it. In the meantime Nicolas d'Este, Lord of Ferrara, stormed and took Argenta, a town belonging to the church of Ravenna, by the assistance of Passerino Bonacossio, Lord of Mantua, who a little before had married Nicolas's sister. These two also joined their forces and attempted Bologna, but went off with great loss, being defeated by Beltrando, who commanded the Church forces, and not long after cursed by the Pope. Ferrara, too, was interdicted, till they restored Argenta ——. But Castruccio at that time did torment the Florentines after he had taken Segni, from whence he had made frequent sallies upon them, insomuch that, despairing of their affairs, they called in Charles, the son of Robert, to be their governor. At that time Pope John sent John Orsini into Italy with all speed, to animate the Florentines and the Guelphs against the Bavarian, who was then coming over the Alps with a mighty army. But he, in his way to Rome, went first to Milan, at the earnest request of the Gibellines; where, having received his iron crown, he wanted money, and was

forced to raise some upon the people, which Galeazzo, their governor, making some scruple of, he put all the Visconti in prison, and chose four-and-twenty citizens to manage the public affairs, with a chief officer of his own family. Afterward the Bavarian, at the request of Castruccio, set all the Visconti at liberty, whilst they were at Lucca, where the emperor was entertained with great respect and kindness. And when he went from thence, he was attended to Rome by Castruccio with one thousand, five hundred horse: where, in the palace of St Giovanni Laterano, he was crowned by Stephano Colonna, at the command of the clergy and people. At that time there were two chief officers in the city, chosen out of the nobility, which they called the emperor's lieutenants: and one of them, called Nicolas di Conti, being then absent, it fell to Stephano's lot to do that office. Being crowned emperor, he presently made Peter di Corvara, of the Order of Minors, born near Rieti, Pope (to rival John the Twenty-Second), who was a man of mean birth, but a learned man and very fit for business. This person had a wife formerly, against whose desire and inclination he entered into the Order of St Francis [1328]. So being made a mock Pope, and called by the name of Nicolas the Fifth, he was saluted by the emperor, and all that were there along with him, as the true vicar of Christ; who likewise made cardinals and bishops of men like himself. In the meantime the French Horse, that were left in garrison at Florence, having surprised Pistoja in the night, they forced Castruccio to depart immediately from Rome Who, having first joined the Visconti's forces, came to Lucca and Pisa, and thence moving toward Pistoja, he besieged it a long time, and at last compelled it to surrender for want of provisions. But the Bavarian followed Castruccio with an army, and left the anti-Pope at Viterbo, having a design to storm Florence; and perhaps he had taken it, if Castruccio had not happened to die of a disease which he contracted by the excessive pains that he took. Yet the Bavarian forgot his great kindness to him, and banished his sons from Pisa and Lucca, as they were disposing of soldiers to guard the several cities; and took possession of the towns. At the same time Galeazzo also dying, his sons fled to the Bavarian, desiring him that he would restore them to their country for such a sum as they promised him. He thereupon, being very greedy of

money, sent Accio home, but kept his brother Marco for a hostage till the whole money was paid. And then, leaving the anti-Pope at Pisa with Viscount Marco, he went to Milan, in order to go for Germany, but could not be received into the city by Accio, who too well remembered the injuries done to his father. But the German soldiers who kept Marco in Tuscany for a hostage, when they knew his good temper, swore allegiance to him, and made him of their prisoner, their captain, so that he was straightway master of Lucca by the surrender of Castruccio's soldiers, who gave up the castle into his hands. And yet not long after the Germans, in Marco's absence, changed their mind, and sold the city of Lucca to a certain Genoese of the family of Spinola, a great seaman. So that, after all, the Bavarian returned to Germany, without having performed anything to the advantage of the empire; and Boniface, Earl of Pisa, to gratify Pope John, brought the anti-Pope to Avignon, where he died in prison [1329]. And now the Pope being freed of his two greatest cares; to wit, the anti-Pope being dead, and the Bavarian gone out of Italy into Germany, he declared an expedition against the Saracens, and imposed new tenths, to be paid to Philip upon the account of that voyage. The Florentines were then in Lucca, but were driven out immediately by the Bohemians, whom the people of Brescia had invited into Italy against the Bergamese, and by whose assistance also the Pope's legate had taken Parma, Reggio and Modena. But he, making an alliance with John, King of Bohemia, quickly changed all the measures of the Italian factions, for whosoever the Pope and King of Bohemia were confederates with, Robert and the Florentines were certainly against, without any distinction of Guelphs or Gibellines. For Mastino Scala, Lord of Verona, Philippino Gonzaga of Mantua, the Carrarese, Lords of Padua, the Estese of Ferrara entered into alliance and league with Robert, by whom the Florentines also were assisted, and took Pistoja, by surrender from some of the citizens without opposition. In the meanwhile, the Marquises of Este were not absolved from the ecclesiastical interdiction before they were tired by the petitions of those of Ferrara, and restored Argenta, which they were possessed of, to the Church of Ravenna. Yet still, relying upon the assistance of the Scaligeri, they attacked the castle of St Felix in Modena, till Charles, the King of Bohemia's son, came upon them, with Manfred,

surnamed Pius, who was Lord of Carpo, and by these two confederates they were routed and beaten out of the field. It is certain that eight hundred of their soldiers fell in that battle, and many of their nobles were taken, and among others of the greatest note, one Nicolas d'Este, brother to Rainaldo the marquis. The legate of Bologna took this occasion, and getting a considerable army together, commanded by Galeot Malatesta of Rimini, Francisco Ordelapo of Forli, Richard Manfred of Faenza, and Hostasio Polentano of Ravenna (at that time lords of their respective cities), he besieged Ferrara, which was then sharply attacked, and the suburbs of St Antony taken, when auxiliary forces sent by Philippino Gonzago, Mastino Scala, and Ubertino of Carrara encouraged the Ferrarians to sally forth; which they did with such success, that they routed the enemy and took most of their captains. But the Earl of Romagna, who was taken, was changed for Nicolas d'Este, and the rest were sent safe home, upon condition that they should take up arms no more against the house of Este. Rainaldo d'Este, proud of such a victory, marched into Bologna, where he spoiled all the country round about and had very near taken the town. They of Bologna well hoped that the King of Bohemia would have assisted the legate; and it was reported that he was on his way thither, when on the sudden, news was brought to him that Mastino Scala had taken Brescia and Bergamo by surrender, and that Accio Visconti was got into Pavia and storming the castle. For this reason he desisted from any farther attempts, and leaving his son at Parma, went himself with some troops to Pavia; where, seeing he could not take in the forts that the Visconti had raised, he only plundered the country about Milan, and went back again to Parma without effecting his design. There he understood that Americk, son to Castruccio, had gotten Lucca by means of some friends within, but that the castle held out still, though the king, for a sum of money, surrendered that too, because he was to go shortly into Germany, being weary of the Italian factions, for the Visconti, having taken the castle of Pavia, made excursions far and near. Wherefore, placing a German garrison in Modena and Reggio, and committing the care of Parma to Marsilio and Piedro Rubeo, he went into Germany, but promised to come suddenly back again with a greater army. When the king was gone, the Bolognese, with the aid of the Florentines and the Marquis d'Este, beat

out the legate and recovered their liberty, killing all the ecclesiastical forces both within and without the city, so that the legate, growing helpless, wrote to Avignon in the year 1334, just when John the Pope died, in the ninetieth year of his age, and in the nineteenth year and fourth month of his pontificate, and left behind him in the treasury such a mass of gold as never any Pope did before him. He was buried in the cathedral in great state. Some say that Petro Mutroneo, once Pope, was canonised by John; and that Gentilis of Fuligno and Dyno of Florence, two famous physicians, were at the same time rewarded by him with money and honour. for he was reckoned a great lover of learned men.

## BENEDICT XII.

### 1334-1342.

BENEDICT the Twelfth, of Toulouse, a Cistercian, formerly called James, cardinal priest of St Prisca, was made Pope at Avignon, the sixteenth day after John's death, and presently confirmed the censures which John had laid upon the Bavarian, as one that usurped the empire. By this means the empire was vacant, and everything tended toward a war, when every one, though never such a petit lord, endeavoured to encroach upon his neighbour. For the Scaligeri were not content to be sole governors of Verona, Brescia, and Bergamo, but strove to get Parma too from the Rubei. Gonzago had a mind to get Reggio, d'Este Modena, and the Florentines Lucca. But the Scaligeri, seeing they could not take Parma, because the soldiers within, especially the Germans, who hated the Scaligeri, defended it so briskly, they marched towards Vincenza. But they could do no good upon it; and, therefore, hearing that the Germans were gone from Parma, they returned thither, and straight took it by surrender of the very Rubeans themselves. Nicolas d'Este also took Modena by the assistance of his father-in-law, one Guido Gonziaco, whose daughter he had married And Philippino Gonzaga had Reggio voluntarily yielded to him by the citizens. But at the same time the growing power of Mastino Scala, who had gotten into Parma, Lucca, and Padua by surrender from

Ubertino Carrara, made all the princes and states almost in Italy conspire to ruin his grandeur; but the most zealous of them were the Venetians. Gonzaga and d'Este besieged Verona, whilst Lucino, with another army, took Brescia and Bergamo. But the Venetians, fearing lest, by their endeavours to lessen the power of one, they might augment that of another, they make a peace with Mastino Scaliger, upon condition that, if he would let the Carrarese have Padua and the Visconti Brescia and Bergamo, as he formerly had, he should keep Verona, Vincenza, Parma, and Lucca. This peace was very offensive to the Florentines, who were their friends and allies, and had a great mind to have Lucca; yet they deferred their complaint till another time, and at that present held their tongues. But the Pope sent a legate into Italy, who persuaded the senate and people of Rome that they would exercise the senatorian office in the name of him and the Church, though they had done it for a long time in the name of the king. For this reason Stephano Colonna was continued senator for five years, and colleagues or partners in the office were assigned him annually. But when the Pope had sent for Stephano to Avignon, Orfus, Earl of Anguillaria, who was Stephano's colleague, made Francis Petrarcha, a man very eloquent, especially in his mother-tongue, and famous for the poems he had published, poet laureate, in the Capitol, before all the nobility and people of Rome, in the year 1338. But the Pope fearing lest when the empire was vacant, Italy might be invaded by any foreign enemy, he made Luchino Visconti, and John, his brother, Archbishop of Milan, lieutenants of Milan and other cities that were in their possession. The same power he delegated to Mastino Scala over Verona and Vincenza; to Philippino Gonzaga, in Mantua and Reggio; to Albertino, in Carrara and Padua, and to Obicio d'Este, in Ferrara, Modena, and Argentæ, and that very justly, as he pretended; for the empire being vacant, all the power belonging to it devolves upon the Pope, who is the sole vicar of Jesus Christ upon the earth. But he set a tribute upon Obicio d'Este, that he should pay ten thousand pounds every year to the Church of Rome. This Pope in all his reign made but six cardinal-presbyters, and that at one time, who were excellent persons, not of his own kindred, as it is usual now-a-days, but men called forth to receive such a dignity out of several nations. Yet I do not disapprove of them that are

preferred to honour, because they are related to the person who confers it, if they are deserving. Besides, he was a man of such constancy, that he could not be induced to do an injury either by force, by importunity, or promises of gain; for he loved good men, and on the contrary was an open enemy to all evil and flagitious persons. He likewise often attempted by his legates to make peace between Philip of France and Edward of England, but to no purpose, since they were such foes, as to have fought many bloody battles one with another. For Edward's navy engaged with the French above Selusas, near Flanders, so fiercely, that he overcame them, and killed (they say) full thirty-three thousand French in that one fight. But the Pope, having tried to effect that business so often, at last desisted, and betook himself to building a palace for succeeding Popes with several towers, and making of orchards, which he finished. He also repaired the roof of St Peter's Church at his own charge, as the inscription under his statue there shows. He died in the seventh year, third month, and seventeenth day of his pontificate, and left a great quantity of gold behind him, not to his relations, but to the Church. He had a design to have Zoto, a famous painter of that age, to draw the histories of the martyrs in the house that he built, but was prevented by death; at which everybody was grieved, he was so good and so learned a man, and showed their sorrow by their tears and sighs whilst they attended at his funeral.

## CLEMENT VI.

1342-1352.

CLEMENT the Sixth, a Limousin, formerly called Peter, at first a monk, and then Archbishop of Rouen, was at last made Pope at Avignon. He was a man of great learning and exact eloquence, liberal to all men, affable and very humane, elected Pope the seventh of May, and crowned the sixteenth of June, in the year 1342. In the first year of his pontificate, and the Ember-week after his coronation, he created eight cardinal-priests and two deacons, that is to say, his brother, who was a monk of Tulle, and William, his sister's

son. Of those priests also which he made, one was his relation by marriage; and the following year he made two more, of which one was his nephew by another sister. This Pope when the Romans petitioned and told him that whereas Boniface the Eighth had formerly granted a full remission of sins to all that visited the shrines of the Apostles Peter and Paul every hundredth year (which space of time the Romans anciently called *sæculum*, an age, and thence their games once in an hundred years, *ludi sæculares*), they thought it more convenient the time should be contracted because men seldom lived so long, he freely consented that the jubilee should be kept every fiftieth year But when he found that all Italy was in an uproar, he confirmed only Luchino and John, two Visconti, his lieutenants in the Duchy of Milan, without mentioning the other princes of Italy. For he thought that they alone were able to resist the Bavarian who (as he gave out himself) was coming down into Italy, and, to requite the Pope, confirmed many lieutenants in the towns and places belonging to the Church by his imperial authority. For he continued John of Vicourbes at Viterbo; Galeot Malatesta and his brethren at Rimini, Pesaro, and Fano; Antonio Feletrario at Urbino; Nolphus and Gallasius, two brothers, at Callio; Allegretus Clavellus at Farriano; Bulgarutius at Matelica; Ismedutius at Sancto Severino; Gentilis Varraneus at Camerino; Michael at Mount Milon; Pongonius at Cingoli; Nicolas Poscaretus at Esio, Guido Volentensis at Ravenna; Francis and Synebald at Forli and Cæsena; John Manfred at Faenza; though before some of these men had gotten the same places under them partly by force and partly by the good will of the inhabitants, as I said in the life of Benedict. But in the meantime the Frescobaldi, who were eminent citizens of Florence, were banished by their fellow-citizens, and would have instigated the Pisans to war, but it was at an ill time. For the Florentines at that time were just upon buying Parma of the Scaligeri, and to that end had sent some of their sons to Ferrara as hostages, promising to give them for it £500,000. For there were two arbitrators, one chosen by each party out of Ferrara. But the Florentines having engaged in several bloody fights one upon the neck of another, were extremely weakened both by the Pisans and their allies, and at last even forced to slip the opportunity of such a bargain. Yet they did not neglect to send aids to the people

of Lucca when they were besieged by the Pisans; besides that their allies helped them too, under the conduct of Malatesta of Rimini, surnamed Ungarus, who forced the Pisans from Lucca. At that time Robert, who was an ally of the Florentines, being moved with the calamities of his confederates, sent one Walter de Brienne, a Frenchman, that they called Governor of Athens, with a small party of horse into Tuscany, who having by mere stratagem defeated Malatesta, who was but an unskilful captain, he gained so cunningly upon the favour of the Florentines that in a short time he was both general of their forces and governor of their city, and turned out all the other officers in it. Those of Arezzo also, of Pistoja, and Volaterra promoted his success by surrendering themselves immediately to him. But when Accio Corrigienses had delivered up Parma, which he could not keep, to Obicio d'Este, Philippino Gonzaga, provoked to war by Obicio, got an army together, and near to Reggio engaged with him so furiously that he routed and pursued him as far as Ferrara. Then Obicio finding his condition desperate, put Parma, which he could not defend, under the protection of Luchino in the year 1346. But when the Florentines could no longer endure the tyranny of Walter de Brienne, and many were put to death every day for conspiring against him how to get their liberty, Angelo Acciaiolo, bishop of the city, sends away for the citizens ready armed into his bishopric, with a resolution to recover the liberty of his country. At which the tyrant, seeing himself too weak for the citizens, made the bishop himself umpire concerning the terms of peace, and so marched off in safety with what he had in the tenth month of his reign But the rabble of the city showed themselves ungrateful (as indeed they always do) and banished the nobility, by whose conduct and courage they had gained their liberty, spoiling their goods and demolishing their houses. And lest anything should be lacking that might disturb all Italy, there were great animosities arisen in the kingdom of Naples; for King Robert dying [1343] without issue male, had married his grand-daughter and heiress Joanna to Andrew, King Charles of Hungary's son. On her accession she was crowned without her husband, but soon after he came a youth to Naples. But Joanna hating him for a dull fellow, killed him by surprise in the city, which was generally against the match; and was married [1347] to his cousin-german, one Lewis, son to a former

Prince of Tarento, who was known to be Robert's brother. But Lewis, King of Hungary, and brother of her first husband, resolving to revenge so great a piece of villainy, came into Italy with a very well ordered army, and first attacked the Sulmonese, who had the boldness to oppose him. But in the meanwhile the manner of choosing senators at Rome was altered by apostolical authority, and Nicolas Rienzi, citizen of Rome and public notary, a man very earnest and high for liberty, when he had taken the Capitol, gained so much good will and authority among all the people that he could incline them to what he pleased. And that he might work upon them the more effectually, he used this motto : "Nicolas, the severe and merciful patron of liberty, peace, and justice, and the illustrious redeemer of the sacred State of Rome." With these great words he created such an admiration of himself that all the people of Italy desired by their ambassadors to enter into league and friendship with him; beside that some foreign nations looked upon the glory of the Roman Empire to be now reviving. But his vain boasting continued not long; for whilst he was kind to some citizens, and an enemy to others, he all on the sudden was accounted, instead of a patron, a tyrant. So that in the seventh month of his government, of his own accord, without anybody's knowledge, on a dark night he went disguised from Rome into Bohemia to Charles, the son of John, whom Clement a little before had made the electors put in nomination for emperor, because he was so fine a scholar, besides that he had a mind to affront the Bavarian by setting up a competitor. So the Tribune, *i.e.*, Nicolas, was taken by Charles and carried to Avignon for a present to the Pope. But Lewis having gotten into Sulmona after a long siege, makes himself easily master of the whole kingdom, since Joanna and the adulterer Lewis were fled for fear into Narbonne, and had left only the Duke of Durazzo, nephew to King Robert, to protect the kingdom, who was conquered and taken by Charles and put to death But the plague being very hot all over Italy, Charles left sufficient garrisons there, and returned into Hungary in the third month after his arrival; which was just about the time when John, the archbishop, a man of great courage and conduct, received from the Pope the lieutenancy of Milan, upon the death of his brother Luchino. But Clement kept Nicolas in prison, and sent some cardinals to Rome to settle the state of the city; to whom Francis

Petrarcha wrote persuading them to choose senators impartially out of the commonalty, if they would appease the tumults, since it did not sufficiently appear in Rome who were of the senatorian and who of the plebeian rank, because they were almost all foreigners and born of strange parents. Upon this Petro Sarra of Colonna and John Orsini were declared senators. At this time the plague raged so all over Italy for three years that there was scarce one man in ten that escaped.[1] Nor is that any wonder, for there was such a concourse of men from all places to Rome at the jubilee, which was then celebrated, that they not only brought the contagion along with them, but by the throng and bustle and sweating that was among them, infected all places and persons. At that time the towns of Colle and Geminiano were made subject to the Florentines, and Bologna to the Archbishop of Milan, by the voluntary surrender of the citizens, at which the Pope, being disturbed, sent a legate into Italy to instigate the Florentines and Mastino Scala against the Visconti. But when Mastino was dead, the archbishop endeavoured to draw Canegrande, son to Mastino, and all the Gibellines in Romagna and Tuscany, to make an alliance with him, and sent his nephew Bernabo to Bologna to keep the citizens in obedience. In the meantime the Florentines, without any resistance, set upon the Pistojans and the Pratese, and at length reduced them by main force. But after that, being harassed by the Archbishop's force under the command of John Aulegius, they could hardly defend themselves within their walls. At that time Anguillara and Borgo di Sancto Sepolchro, belonging to the Church, revolted to the Visconti, and then also we read that the Genoese and Venetians fought a sea battle, in which the Genoese at first were conquered; but afterward they were more victorious under the command of Admiral Philip Auria, and not only took the island Scio from the Venetians, but killed a great many men in Ewbœa (now called Negroponte). But Clement resolving at last to consult the quiet of Italy, decreed that Lewis, Prince of Taranto, should be King of Naples, renewed the peace with the Hungarian; bought the city of Avignon of

[1] [This was the terrible Black Death; the most awful plague that ever appeared in the world. Nearly the whole of the Royal Family of France perished. Pope Clement, whose personal life was grossly immoral, shut himself up in terror in Avignon, and burned large fires round him. He escaped, but three-fourths of the population of the city died.—Ed.]

Queen Joanna, whose inheritance it was, and paid for it by remitting of a certain fee that amounted to rather more than the price of it, and was due from her to the Church of Rome upon the account of the kingdom of Naples. But whilst Olegio Visconti besieged Scarperia in Mugiallia, those of Siena, Arezzo, and Perugia being affrighted, entered into a new confederacy with the Florentines against the Visconti. The Pisans could now show their friendship to the Visconti for the Gambacorti, a noble family that were allies of Florence, who, being now unable to withstand the Visconti alone, called Charles the emperor into Italy. At this the Pope was concerned, and, fearing Italy might be destroyed with fire and sword (as the emperor threatened), he delivered Bologna to the Visconti upon condition that they should pay the Church twelve thousand pounds a year, and made peace between the Visconti and the Florentines upon these terms; that neither of them should molest those of Pisa, Lucca, Siena, or Perugia; and that Borgo di Sancto Sepolchro should be subject to the Church, and the Visconti should preserve the liberty of the Cortonese. He also endeavoured to compose the differences between Philip of France and Edward of England, but in vain; for they were so incensed to fight that in one battle Edward killed twenty thousand French, and after eleven months' siege victoriously took Calais by storm [1346]. The same success he had against the Scots. But the Pope, having done the duty of a good shepherd, seeing he could not advantage Christendom abroad, he consulted how to do the Church some good at home; for he chose excellent persons for cardinals, especially Giles, a Spaniard, who was Archbishop of Toledo, Nicholas Capocius, a Roman citizen, Rainaldo Orsini, protonotary of the Church of Rome, and his own nephew, who after got the Papacy, and was called Gregory the Eleventh. Some say this Pope canonized Ivo, a Briton, priest and confessor. He died in the tenth year, sixth month, and twenty-eighth day of his pontificate, in the year 1352, and was decently buried at Avignon by the cardinals that were then upon the place.

## INNOCENT VI.

1352-1362.

INNOCENT the Sixth, a Limousin, formerly called Stephen, a man very well skilled in the canon and civil law, first procurator, then Bishop of Clermont, and afterwards cardinal, was at first made Pope in the year 1352, upon the fifteenth of December. He was a man of an exact life, of great constancy and severity, and bestowed ecclesiastical preferments upon none but men of good lives and learning Immediately after his coronation he suspended many indulgences which Clement had granted, commanding all prelates and others that had ecclesiastical benefices to repair to their churches under the pain of anathema, saying, flocks ought to be kept by their own shepherds, and not by hirelings He also retrenched his household expenses and reduced his family to a convenient number, and would have none but honest men about him He strictly commanded the cardinals to do so too; for he would often tell them that both his own life and that of all churchmen ought to be an example to the laity, in imitation of our Saviour, whose whole life was a pattern to all mankind. He likewise appointed certain salaries for the auditors of the holy palace, lest through want they should be tempted to give judgment for bribery; for he would say that those who are ready to starve can hardly keep their hands from other people's meat, if they have any opportunity to get it. He was sparing in his diet, but in his warlike preparations very expensive, whilst he endeavoured to recover that by arms which formerly usurpers had taken away from the Church; for he sent Giles Carillo, a Spaniard, Cardinal of St Sabina, an excellent person, his legate *à latere* into Italy to make war upon the usurpers, and secure the Church patrimony. At this time, the Emperor of Constantinople, the King of Aragon, and the Venetians entered into a league against the Genoese, and having gotten a great navy together, superior to the Genoese both in the number of ships and men, set upon them between Constantinople and Chalcedon, in a place very disadvantageous for the Genoese, and when the wind was against them. They fought from morning till night, till at length the Grecians ran away, but the Venetians

and Catalonians were most of them slain, together with their admiral, under the command of Paganino Doria. But the Venetians were so enraged at this defeat and disgrace, that they and the Catalonians recruited their navy, and, under the conduct of Nicolas, a Pisan, routed the Genoese the year following, not far from the island of Corsica, and sunk forty of their galleys with their men. The Genoese, terrified at this overthrow, delivered up their city and all they had to the Archbishop of Milan, who, by attacking the Venetians, alarmed the lords of Padua, Verona, Ferrara, Mantua, and the Florentines, too, to oppose him, they fearing lest, when he had conquered the Venetians, he would set upon them also The war was carried on by land and sea; but the Genoese, Paganino Doria being their admiral, had wonderful fortune at sea, and, at Sapientia, a promontory of Morea, defeated the Venetians, taking their admiral Nicolas, the Pisan, with five thousand men, whom they brought to Genoa in the year 1354. But the following year the Archbishop of Milan died, which freed the Venetians and their allies from a great deal of care Bernabo and Galeazzo, his brother Luchino's sons, were his heirs. No place but Genoa relinquished them —these two making a peace with the Venetians, which had been first proposed by Bernabo and Galeazzo, at the instance of the Pope and Giles, his legate. In the meanwhile Calo-Johannes, Emperor of Constantinople, was restored, having vanquished Cantazucene, who had usurped the empire against all right and reason. But that action was performed by means of Francis Catalusius, a Genoese, a great seaman, on whom he bestowed Mitylene and all Lesbos for a reward, which the Turk afterwards took from the Catalusii when he had gotten Constantinople and all Thrace in his power. Nor was there less uproar at Rome than was then at Constantinople. For Francisco Baroncelli, a Roman citizen and a great man, having degraded John Orsini and Peter Colonna from the dignity of senators, usurped to himself the dignity of a Tribune with these titles; that is to say, "Francisco Baroncelli, secretary to the senate, by the grace of God second Tribune of our mother, this city, and Consul of Rome." When the Pope heard of it, he had a mind to rebate the audacious spirit of the man, and sent Nicolas de Rienzi [1354], a person full as ambitious as he, out of the gaol at Avignon, to Rome, to recover the Tribuneship. He, when he came into the city, being assisted by the nobility and great

part of the commons, threw Boroncelli out of the Capitol and killed him; so that he enjoyed the Tribuneship alone. But not long after forgetting his former condition he persecuted the nobility, and especially the Colonnas, who were going out at the Esquiline Gate into Campagna di Roma with a petition, but was repelled so much to his disadvantage, that he betook himself into the Capitol; and from thence endeavoured to escape; but the enemy followed him at the heels, and though he were disguised, yet the citizens of Rome discovered him and cut off his head. Then was Guido Jordan made sole senator for a year by apostolical authority. About that time the emperor, who was son to the King of Bohemia, was very kindly entertained by the Carrariens, the Gonziacks, and Visconti, and received his iron crown, as the custom is, at Milan. And going from thence to Pisa, was met by ambassadors from the Sienese, from those of Volaterra, and almost all Tuscany, who told him they were ready to obey his commands. The Florentines would have done the same, but that they had first bought themselves out of his dominion, with a great sum of money. After that he went to Rome, and was crowned by two cardinals, who were sent on purpose, upon condition that he should not stay any longer either at Rome or in Italy. This made him depart the sooner, and when he was gone, Giles, the legate, quickly recovered almost all the towns, which the usurpers had gotten by the instigation of the Bavarian, either in Romagna, Marca d'Ancona, or St Peter's patrimony. But he confirmed all those lieutenants of towns whom he saw obedient to the Church of Rome; as Galiot, Malatesta, and Guido Poletanus, in Romagna, and the Vatranese, in the duchy of Milan. But the Ordelaphi, who were disobedient to the Church, he persecuted with two years' wars, and at length quite routed them out of Forli, Forimpopili, and Cesena. These indeed might have retained some part of their dominion by the assistance of James, the cardinal of Colonna, a man who was a great friend to their family, but they chose rather to lose the whole like men, than save any part of it sneakingly. But Giles, having quieted Romagna, was so pleased at Forli, that he laid up not only the treasure of the Church, but also all the money which was sent from Avignon into Italy, to build castles in that town, and made some ordinances which the province uses to this day. But when Giles had settled Italy, and built a great many very

necessary forts in the Church dominions, and reduced all the Italian princes and States to obedience, he had a successor in the fifth year of his embassy, called Arduinus, a Burgundian, abbot of Cisteaux, a man not at all fit for business. Wherefore, when Giles was gone, all the princes and States of Italy took up arms. For the Pisans did so molest the Florentines, that, seeing nobody durst oppose them, they plundered all the country of Florence, and took Figino, a castle lying up the river Arno, burning all the villages which were built thereabout. At that time Pandulphus Malatesta was captain-general of the Florentine army, whom the people forced to relinquish his civil government, because he had never shown that he had courage enough to engage with an enemy. But the Pisans were then much higher than before, not so much out of any hope they had of taking the city, as that they should bring a scandal upon it, and therefore, after some light skirmishes before the gates, they returned home with great spoils, about the beginning of autumn. And Bernabo also demolished many castles in Bologna (which was now harassed with war), though the Abbot of Clugny defended it stoutly. Bologna, as I told you before, was subject to the Visconti . but Aulegianus betrayed it to the abbot of Clugny, and was to have Fermo as the reward of his treachery. But whilst that Bernabo made war upon Bologna and Reggio, the apostolical legate makes an alliance with Philippino Gonzaga, Canes of Verona, and Nicolas d'Este to go against the Brescians. Then Bernabo, being concerned for the danger which those of Brescia were left in, left Bologna and Reggio, and marched toward the enemy, but was so defeated at Montclere, that afterwards he could hardly defend the very walls of the city. About the same time the Florentines overcame the Pisans, under the command of Galeot Malatesta, by corrupting their soldiers to come over to their party. For this reason the Pisans laid all the fault upon the Cambacurti, who were eminent citizens there, because they paid the soldiers covetously and stingily ; and therefore recalled John Agnellus, who was banished, as being a friend to Bernabo, and against the Cambacurti : and he in a little time reduced the city, and made it acknowledge him for their governor, having removed all the friends of the adverse faction. But when the Pope had made a peace between the Pisans and the Florentines, one John Haucut, who had been used to fight under the Pisans,

got together all the soldiers in Italy, and gave all people occasion to fear especially since Rome was in such an uproar at the choosing of senators. But Innocent easily appeased their discords by sending a foreign senator to them, called Raimund Ptolemy, a citizen of Siena, who bore that office a whole year, and that was in the year 1359 But though things were settled in this manner, yet the Romans could not be quiet. For they turned out their senator, and created seven citizens with sovereign power, whom they called the Reformers of the whole Republic. Upon this account Innocent made Hugo Lusignaneus, King of Cyprus (who was going then to war against the Turks), senator, and commanded totally to abolish that society of reformers. But he, at that time, was very intent upon making an end of the war betwixt England and France, that all might go against the Turk. But when the English had overcome the French in Poictou, and had taken their king with Philip, his son, they were thought to have done a great exploit: yet at the same time Edward, out of his princely generosity, gives all the captives their liberty, upon condition, that they would never fight against him more But they soon after broke those terms of peace, and forced Edward to resume his arms and besiege Paris. Innocent designed also to prepare a navy against the infidels, when at the same time the Pisans, who were excellent seamen, and the Venetians, that had a great navy, were at war, the former with the Florentines, and the latter with Lewis, King of Hungary. For that king did then besiege Treviso with a great army; besides that the Venetians were at variance among themselves For Marino, their general, being accused, as if he aspired to sovereignty, was beheaded. Innocent being thus discomposed in his mind, he died in the ninth year, eighth month, and sixth day of his pontificate, just about the same time with Bartholus Saxoferratus, the wisest man in all that age. But before the Pope's death there was such an eclipse of the sun as never was before: wherefore all people thought that such a great man could not die, but even the planets would give some presages of his departure.

## URBAN V.

### 1362-1370.

URBAN the Fifth, formerly called William Grimoard, Abbot of St Victor at Marseilles, was made Pope in his absence by universal consent. For at that time he was gone into Italy as legate to the Visconti, but being called to Avignon he entered upon the popedom. And no sooner was he got into the chair, but being a person of singular virtue, great courage, and very innocent in his conversation, he immediately applied himself to vindicate the Church's liberty, and made use of such instruments as were zealous for the business. For he sent Giles, a Spaniard (of whom we said something before) into Italy with full power and authority; who so far animated and engaged Lewis Gonzaga, Nicolas d'Este, and Francisco Carrario, against Bernabo, that he was overcome by them, and lost his son in the battle, and being wounded hardly escaped with his life. Nor was that all, but the enemy took Andrew Pepulo, a Bolognian banditto, Synebald Ordelaphus, Paulus Mirandula, Guido Foliano, Azo of Corrigia, William Cavalcabos, the most signal commanders of the army. But the Kings of England, France, and Cyprus were concerned at the misfortune of the Visconti, and sent ambassadors to Giles to desire him that he would make peace with them; which ambassadors were not sent in vain, for a peace was concluded, though it were of no long continuance. For John Hawkwood, on the behalf of the Visconti, having engaged the Florentines, routed their army at St Miniato, which caused Giles the legate to send Thomas Obicio, an excellent commander, with three thousand horse and a competent number of foot to help the Florentines. They fought betwixt Arezzo and Cortona four hours together stoutly; but at length Thomas, chiefly with the assistance of his infantry, gave the enemy such a blow, that of six thousand horse which fought under Hawkwood few escaped, and the captain himself yielded. Those that had revolted from the Church when they heard of this great victory immediately surrendered. Urban then came into Italy, in the fourth year of his pontificate to settle things, and Giles the legate met him at Corneto, and rendering an account of what he had done was discharged

from his legateship; and the Pope going on his way from Corneto to Rome, he retired quietly in his old age to Viterbo, where he died in three months after. He was a man of singular virtue and courage, and preserved the honour of the Church whilst he lived most wonderfully. His body was carried to Assisi and buried in the Church of St Francis, in a tomb that he built himself whilst he was living. When Charles the emperor understood that Urban was gone to Rome, he went thither too as fast as he could with his wife and children, but, by the way, took Lucca from the Pisans, and Sancto Miniato from the Florentines. Whether he went to Rome or no is not certain; because it is said he received his imperial crown from Pope Innocent the Sixth, who sent the Cardinal of Ostia to Rome for that purpose. But having received a great sum of money of the Florentines to buy their own peace, he marched out of Italy the third month after he came thither, in the year 1368. Urban had sought a long time for the heads of St Peter and St Paul (which through the ignorance of the times had long been neglected), and having lighted upon them at Sancta Sanctorum, he put them up in silver cases next the great altar of the Lateran, where they were highly honoured by a great concourse of all the clergy and people of Rome. The same Pope built one palace in the old city and another in Montefiascone, that he and other Popes might retire thither to avoid the heat and bustle of the town. But resolving to go back shortly into France, he made John Hawkwood, an excellent commander, whom he released out of prison, general of all those forces that had served under Giles, to guard the Church patrimony till he returned again. For he designed to return for Italy. But going into France, he died at Marseilles, in the eighth year and the fourth month of his pontificate: or (as others will have it) he died at Avignon just about the time when Bridget, a devout woman, who was a princess of Switzerland, came to Rome upon a vow she had made. There were at the same time some commotions in Apulia after the death of Nicolas Acciaioli, who was governor of that province, and a stout, wise man.

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## GREGORY XI.

### 1370-1378.

GREGORY the Eleventh, of Lymosin, formerly called Peter Roger, and cardinal deacon of New St Mary's, was made Pope at Avignon by a general consent. Clement VI., his uncle, made him cardinal when he was scarce seventeen years of age. But that he might not seem to consult the good of his kindred more than that of the Church, he sent him to the best masters he could find for breeding, and especially to Baldus, who at that time was a professor at Perugia; under whom he made such progress in all sorts of learning, that Baldus often used his authority to clear a doubt. And then he was a man of such innocence, good-nature, affability, and piety, that he was generally beloved. At his entrance upon the pontificate this was the state of things in Italy: at Rome the courts of justice were held by senators whom the Pope appointed for every six months, but the guard of the city and all the management of public affairs were in the hands of the Banderesii, so named from their banners (a Teutonic word) which they used in war, by which every Decuria (now called Capo di Regione, or head of a ward) was distinguished. In Lombardy, those nobles, who (as I said before) conspired against the Visconti, surprised the city of Reggio by treachery, which was before in their possession, but the castle holding out, Bernabo, entering the city that way at the first onset overthrew the enemy, and driving away Lucius, the German commander, repossessed himself of the place. Thus went matters in Italy, when Perinus, King of Cyprus, who succeeded his father, Peter, was the cause of great animosities between the Genoese and the Venetians; for when he was crowned at Famagosta and two bailiffs (as the merchants call their residents), one from Genoa and the other from Venice, were there attending, they strove who should walk on the right hand the king, which raised such a tumult, that the Genoese were beaten and wounded basely, the king favouring the Venetians. The Genoese hereupon got a navy of forty ships together, under the command of Peter Fregoso, brother to Dominick Fregoso, and invaded Cyprus, and landed fourteen thousand men to destroy all the island with fire and sword for violating the law of nations.

The king, being deserted on all sides, submitted to their mercy, and surrendering Famagosta, promised the Genoese to give them £40,000 per annum to purchase his peace. The Pope's legate was now come into Italy and had settled the state of the Church, he made a peace with the Visconti, when a new tumult arose at Prato, which was the original of great confusion, for the inhabitants of Prato, endeavouring to vindicate themselves from the dominion of the Florentines, called the Church forces into Tuscany by permission from the legate. But the Florentines so far corrupted them with money, that they entered Prato by their assistance, put the conspirators to death, and sent a great many banners, with *Liberty* written upon them, by several troops to several towns, exhorting the people, as their lords, that they would remember the liberty of the Church and cast off the yoke of servitude. The first that revolted from the Church were the Castellani, then the Perugians, those of Todi, Spoleto, Gubio, Viterbo, Forli, and Ascoli followed their example. At that time, too, Astorgius Manfred, under the Bavarian, having tasted the sweetness of absolute dominion, had possessed himself of Granariolo, a castle near Faenza: against whom the legate sent John Hawkwood with some troops out of Bologna. The Florentines and those of Bologna defended Astorgius, and keeping out Hawkwood with all his men, asserted their liberty. But Hawkwood, seeing the Faenzese ready to rebel, he not only plundered the city severely and killed all that his soldiers met, but he sold the very ground on which it stood to Nicolas and Albert d'Este, two brothers, for £20,000, reserving only Bagnacavallo to himself, where the carriages of his army lay. The Pope, hearing of such great revolutions, sent Cardinal Cevennes as his legate with six thousand Breton horse into Italy, who, coming down through Piedmont, marched as far as the very gates of Bologna without doing any hurt, designing to besiege the city. But when the legate heard the Florentines were come to the assistance of the Bolognians under the conduct of Rodolphus Varraneo, he went with his army to winter in Cesena, in which city there was such an uproar by reason of the pride of the French, that six hundred Bretons were slain, and the rest turned out of town. But they got in again afterwards by way of the tower, and being increased in their number, they filled all places with blood and rapine, not sparing even those whose very age made their excuse: only

young women and maids were kept alive to be abused. But those of Forli, fearing lest for want of advice and one to govern them, they might be oppressed by the legate, they took Syncbald, Pyne, John, and Theobald, Ordelaphi, as their lords into the city, and were bravely defended by them from the fury of the Bretons. But Pope Gregory, conceiving that all the mischiefs of Italy proceeded from his being absent, and that the long shipwreck of affairs there happened because the pilot was out of the way, the good man was very intent a good while upon a journey into Italy. But he was mightily concerned at a certain bishop's words, who, being asked by the Pope (as they were walking together) why he did not return to his church, which he ought not to have left so long without a pastor, he replied: "Why do not you that are the greatest bishop, give a good example and go to your own bishopric at Rome?" The Pope was disturbed at these words, and therefore he got ready one-and-twenty ships in the Rhone, under pretence of going elsewhere, that he might not be stopped by the French, as he would have been if they had understood he had been going to Rome, because it was their interest to keep the court in France. Thereupon he went first to Genoa and then to Corneto; from whence he went by land (for he was weary of sailing, in the winter especially) to Rome, and arrived there in the year 1376, about the 11th of January, in the seventh year of his pontificate and the seventieth year after the court went out of Rome into France. But what preparations the people of Rome made, and with what incredible joy they received him, it is needless to relate, for all the nobility went to meet him, with their countenances, gestures, and acclamations expressing all kind of pleasure, as children do that see their dear father returned from a strange country. And indeed all things lacked his presence there. For both the walls, the churches, and all buildings in general, public or private, threatened nothing but ruin, till he repaired most part of them, as the tower, which he built at St Mary's the Great, does testify. The morality, also, of the city was so decayed, that they seemed to have nothing about them which looked like a citizen, but appeared as if they ought to go and learn manners, who formerly had reduced the whole to urbanity and good behaviour. So then the Pope, having seated himself in Rome, as a good pastor should do, began to look about him, and think of a cure for the wounds of Italy. And whilst he

was a ruminating of it, he considered that nothing but a peace could do the feat. Thereupon he sent his legate first to the Florentines, who inclined to war, and persuades them not to slight or refuse any fair conditions of peace. They, suspecting the Pope's power, and fearing lest they should be compelled to make a peace, enter into alliance and confederacy with Bernabo, their old enemy. After that, they corrupted Haucut with money and fair promises to come over from the Church to their party; at which they were so triumphant and so proud, that they omitted no sort of injury or affront that they could do the Pope; for which they were anathematised, and yet were so insolent that they forced their priests, notwithstanding the interdiction, to perform the Divine offices against law and reason. The Pope, therefore, weary at last of entreating, took up arms, and having reconciled Bologna, which was to be governed in his name, he, like the Florentines before, made Varraneo his stipendiary, and gave him the command of the Church army to go against Florence. But a quarrel arose between the Genoese and the Venetians, which put a stop to his designs, he fearing lest any foreign force should invade Italy, if he engaged with the Florentines himself. For whilst Andronicus, by the Genoese assistance, to whom he had given Tenedos, as the reward of the exploit, had dethroned Charles's father, who was John, Emperor of Constantinople, the Venetians restored him again to his country, and had the island Tenedos given to them by him, at which the Genoese were angry though they deferred their revenge till another occasion, for fear of the Pope's curse, who threatened it to both parties, if they did not quit their arms, not holding it fit for either of them to meddle in that war. But whilst this holy man did all things with that diligence that became a Pope, he died of that intolerable pain, the stone in the bladder, in the seventh year and fifth month of his pontificate, the 16th of April in the year 1370, and was buried in St Mary's in the New Street, in a marble tomb, which is yet to be seen; and so much lamented as never man was before him, for all people thought themselves deprived of a father in him, and did bewail not only the present but their future calamity, into which they were fallen by the loss of so good a Pope, and the discords that arose among the chief citizens.[1]

[1] [Platina does not mention St Catherine, of Sienna, who was now at the height of her fame, and who, by her "visions" was mainly instrumental in recalling the Papal Court from Avignon to Rome.]

## URBAN VI.

1378-1389.

GREGORY being dead, and the making a new Pope being under debate, the clergy and people of Rome addressed themselves to the cardinals, and desired them that they would choose some worthy person, an Italian, to govern the Church and State of Rome with integrity and piety, for that unless an extraordinary pastor were then elected, Christianity, as it stood at that time, must needs fall to decay. And they desired an Italian Pope, lest, if he were a Frenchman, the court of Rome must remove again beyond the mountains, to the great disadvantage and damage of the city of Rome, and all Italy besides. Alleging that when the Pope was absent, all the country and city were continually embroiled with usurpations and seditions, and that the churches in Rome were so neglected, and thereby grown so much out of order that they were most of them ready to fall. And that upon this account the people who came continually to Rome were not so zealous as they used to be when they saw the papal see, the cardinals' churches, and monasteries, nay, the holy places where the martyrs lie, without a roof, and the walls falling down to let in sheep and other cattle. That it was fit the Pope should live where Peter had placed the pontifical chair by the will of God, out of his own country and nation, and advanced the honour of it by the ashes and the blood of martyrs, confessors, and holy Popes. Hence might the pastors of the Church, if they were circumspect and mindful of Christ's command, or incited by example of those whose martyrdoms and actions they had before their eyes, consult the salvation of mankind, and at the same time recover St Peter's patrimony, which had been seized by several usurpers in Tuscany, Sabina, Campagna di Roma, Ombria, Milan, and Romagna, whilst the Popes were absent; that they would not say for the present how the piety of people was diminished, and that their pilgrimages to Rome, or to see the bodies or relics of the saints were much rarer than formerly, by reason of the Pope's absence; but that all these things might still be restored if an Italian were chosen Pope. The cardinals made answer that they would take care to choose an excellent man to govern the Church of God, without

any respect to persons or nations, in imitation of our Saviour, who chose apostles out of all nations; that they might go and be satisfied that they would do nothing but what should promote the glory of God, the good of the Church, and of all Christendom. So they appointed a conclave at St Peter's, and ordered a certain number of guards to be in the Vatican, lest any tumult might hinder so important an election. But when they came to vote, there was a great debate all of a sudden, for there were thirteen French cardinals, who would have had a Pope chosen out of them; and four Italians, among whom one, that was of the Orsini family, did most aspire to the popedom. The French seemed to have the better of it because they had the majority; but there happening a quarrel betwixt those of Limosin and the other Frenchmen, each side contending for the choice of a Pope out of their party, they chose Bartholomew, Archbishop of Bari, a Neapolitan, or, as others say, a Pisan, not of the college of cardinals, and in his absence, by the name of Urban the Sixth. But before they appeared abroad, or that it was known that Urban was made Pope, the French scandalized the election, as extorted by fraud and fear, whilst the Romans urged them with force and arms to choose an Italian, so that the cardinals, when they came out of the conclave, fled partly into Castle St Angelo, and partly into other secure places, to avoid the fury of the enraged people. Cardinal Orsini also went to Vicovaro, having great hopes of getting the pontificate in a time of such discord. But not long after the cardinals repented, and came to the city, where they confirmed Urban, whom they had formerly chosen, saluting him according to the dignity of a true Pope. Three months after, the French party pretended the city was too hot for them, and desired of the Pope that he would give them leave to go to Anagni for change of air, which in the city was pestilent, especially in the summer and to French constitutions; though they indeed were afraid of his severity, and so were desirous to get out of the way. For he had often called them to him and admonished them to keep their hands clean, and receive no bribes nor rewards for pleading in behalf of others, or doing any man a kindness that should ask it; and told them that he would punish them severely that he found guilty of simony, or promoting unjust suits. Besides he told them that he should be pleased and was very desirous that they would omit some of their state,

and such a train of servants and horses, for what they spent in such vanity was really due to the poor, or ought to have been employed toward the repairs of tottering churches. He told them, that he would choose good men to be about his own person, and that he would make the wicked suffer for their offences unless they mended their manners. And because he heard that the French cardinals did talk once, as if the Court of Rome would go back into their country, he told them publicly that he would stay at Rome, and would not hearken to any one that should persuade him to remove from it, because, as he said, the foundation of the universal Church, and of Christian faith, was laid at Rome, and all the superstructure raised in the same place. The French cardinals were moved with these reasons, and especially those who had robbed the Church treasury upon the death of several Popes, and done what they pleased; they fled first to Anagni, next to Fondi, where they inveighed against Urban as a false Pope, and said he was made by force, and received his crown by force, because that election and coronation was not in a place at all safe, where people's wills and votes might be free, but that on the contrary, they were forced to choose an Italian rather than a Frenchman. For these reasons, the see (as they said) being vacant, they (who were eight in all) by the permission and favour of Queen Joanna, chose Cardinal Cevennes, who had been legate in Italy, and called him Clement the Seventh. Hence arose a great and a long quarrel in the Church of God, which they call a schism, when part of the Christian princes favoured Urban, and part favoured Cevennes. Nor were these seditious cardinals content with that, but sent the Bretons, who had plundered and taken many castles, villages, and forts, against the Pope and people of Rome, who, meeting the enemy at Ponte Salaro in a confused manner, were conquered and killed. But after that they had fought another battle at Sancto Marino with such courage and intention that they beat the Bretons and killed so many of them that there was hardly a messenger left to carry the news. Those that were in the castles defended themselves for some time, but especially the governor of the Castle of Surio, who after many years surrendered it to Pope Martin. In the meantime the Genoese begin to show the malice which they had conceived in their hearts against the Venetians, and took Lewis, King of Hungary, into their alliance, with Francis of Carrara, Lord of

Padua, the Duke of Austria, and the patriarch of Aquilegia. On the part of the Venetians were Perinus of Lusignan, King of Cyprus, and so was Bernabo Visconti. In the first engagement at sea the Venetians had the better of it upon the coast of Antio, under the command of Victor, a Pisan, of ten Genoese ships, five being lost. At that time also the Marchesi of Carreto, by the assistance of Bernabo, took Albenga, Noli, and Castle-Franco from the Genoese, but not long after they made a peace with them and restored all. After this[1] the Genoese put Dominick Fregoso, their duke, into prison, with his brother Peter, and made Nicolas di Guarco their governor by land, and Lucian Doria their admiral by sea. But Bernabo, that had married his daughter to the King of Cyprus, sent her very honourably into Cyprus to her husband, with twelve galleys, six Catalonian and six Venetian. Perinus thus strengthened, attacked Famagosta both by sea and land, but in vain, for the soldiers within defended it stoutly, and his navy was battered and disabled by bad weather. In the meanwhile the Venetians on the one side and the Genoese on the other did not cease to molest both the seas, for whilst Charles Zeno, admiral of the Venetian fleet, infested the Genoese in the Tyrrelene Sea, Lucian Doria overran the Adriatic to the great damage of the Venetians, setting upon them from Zara (where his ships lay at anchor), the King of Hungary's port. The Venetians were very much concerned for the injury done to them, and seeing they could not draw Lucian to fight, they burned two towns of the kings called Cataro and Sibinico. In the meantime Galeazzo Visconti had died, in the year 1378, and almost all the duchy of Milan seemed to be for Bernabo, at which the Venetians were much pleased, but to no purpose, for first the half and then the whole country fell off to John Galeazzo, his nephew. Lucian, admiral of the Genoese, moving toward Pola, conquered and took the Venetian navy in the very harbour, but whilst he pursued the enemy too rashly, he was run through with a lance, and died. Both the navies, as well the conqueror as the conquered, were brought into Zara, whither the Genoese sent Peter Doria in the room of his deceased brother, with nine galleys and many other vessels, who, taking an account of his brother's victory, found two thousand captives, beside the multitudes that were killed and drowned. The Venetians were attacked at land too by

[1] [It was in 1378.—Ed.]

Carrara and his allies, whom I have mentioned, to whom the Venetians opposed Albrico Barbiano, Earl of Cuni, an excellent commander. But Peter Doria having gotten a navy of sixty galleys, and as many other vessels, went to Venice, stormed and burned Grado, Comachio, and Cahorle. From thence he went to Chioza, which, though it were defended for some time by the Venetians, yet he took it at last, by assistance of supplies which he had from the governor of Padua. It is certain that full six thousand men were slain in that siege, and nine hundred and fifty of the Venetians taken, and sent to Zara; they spared the women, not violating their chastity in all their fury and violence. The Venetians being quite disheartened at this calamity, and despairing of any help by sea or land, set the Genoese captives at liberty, and sent them to Chioza to their admiral, to beg their pardon, and to make their submission to the will of the conqueror. But the Genoese, proud of their victory, as conquerors used to be, refused to answer the Venetians, unless they would come and surrender themselves and all they had. Thereupon the Venetians betook themselves to the defence of their country, and setting up chains of iron before the port's mouth, and a guard of three hundred horse with as many foot upon the quay, they sought out for some one person, whom they might make their general. And being in great doubt by reason of their distractions whom to choose, it was proposed by somebody that Victor of Pisa was the only man fitting to be in a place of that trust, as well understanding the power and arts of the Genoese. The voice (whoever spoke) was heard with great reverence, as if it came from an oracle, for immediately they ran all to the prison, where he lay for his ill management of Pola, and taking him out made him their sole commander. The Genoese by that time were come very near, and having taken all the castles thereabout, were just entering the city, but were easily repulsed after a long fight by John Barbadicus with certain small ships well armed, the Genoese galleys not being able to come on in those narrow seas. Besides, Barbadicus used this other stratagem. There was at that time an instrument called bombarda, *i.e.*, a gun, newly invented by a certain German, and called bombarda from its thundering sound; and each of the Venetian skiffs had two of those guns or more, whereby the Genoese, who were ignorant and unskilled in this new kind of fighting, were many of them destroyed; each gun often killing two or three

men at one shot, because they were not able to avoid them so well on board as if they had been on shore. Hereupon the Venetians bade Bernabo Visconti, their friend and ally, to press upon the Genoese so as to raise their siege, they already wanting provisions. And indeed the Venetians must have perished if (as Carrara advised) the Genoese had taken care to hinder supplies from being imported into Venice. Bernabo, to give some satisfaction to the Venetians, sent his army against the Genoese, who, when they had plundered the valley of Pulcephera, and taken nineteen thousand, they left the Genoese (who fought against Bernabo not with swords but with gold), and having loaded themselves with spoil returned into Milan. Astorgius of Faenza had not so good luck when he was sent thither by Bernabo with the horse; for coming toward the city he was routed by the people of Genoa, who sallied out upon him, but escaped with much ado himself in the habit of a country fellow. But Calo John, Emperor of Greece, being an ally of the Venetians, besieged Pera, a place belonging to the Genoese, over against Constantinople; for he saw the Genoese were engaged in many and dangerous wars. But Andronicus, his son, who was an equal enemy to his father and the Venetian both, with the assistance of the Turks and Bulgarians, defended it stoutly, and frightened his father to that degree, that he soon after came over to the side of the Genoese. In the meantime, Urban was not so intent upon making peace between Christians (which he should have done), as he was desirous to revenge the injuries which he received from Queen Joanna, and therefore incited Lewis, King of Hungary, to revenge his brother Andrew's death and he would help him. He consented, and by instigating Charles, his nephew (who was then carrying on the war against the Venetians in Marca Trevisana), against Joanna, he gave the Venetians some little respite, who before that were almost ruined. And it added somewhat to their affairs that Carlo Zeno, a Venetian, an excellent seaman, sunk two ships of burthen in the port of Chioza, and reduced the Genoese to that extremity, that they themselves (since all other passes were stopped up, and they could not bring their ships out) seemed rather to be besieged than to besiege, they were in such necessity of all provisions. But nothing did the Genoese so much injury as the death of Peter Doria, who was killed by a shot from a gun as he was stoutly defending the

fortifications of Chioza. In whose place Matthew Ruffus was presently chosen, who, as he was coming to Chioza with new galleys, took Thaddeus Justinianus at Manfredonia, with six galleys laden with provisions. Agapetus, Cardinal Colonna, being concerned for these misfortunes, exhorted the Genoese and the Venetians to peace very often, but all in vain; for they, who fought out of hatred, not for dominion, would never hearken to the wholesome advice of those who gave them good counsel. At length the Genoese, when they saw themselves so begirt at Chioza, that they could not sally forth for the Venetian, nor get provisions from Matthew Ruffus, or the Lord of Padua, who had promised them shortly to supply them, they surrendered the town on the 1st of July 1380, at which time there were taken of the enemy 4340, though more died in the siege by famine and the sword. Yet the Genoese, though they had received such a fatal blow, could not lie still, but with thirty-eight galleys compelled the Triestese to revolt from the Venetians to the Patriarch of Aquilegia. They likewise took Justinople, but not the castle. And when they had recruited their navy they went for Venice again; but nobody encountering them, they returned into Istria, took the city Pola, and burned it. Many slaughters followed on both sides. But the Venetians were overcome in a land fight by Carrara, whilst James Caballus, an excellent commander, defended Treviso stoutly, which was almost forced by famine to a surrender. And now both sides being well tired with such a long and bloody war, the Duke of Savoy, upon the 23d of September 1381, makes peace between them upon these terms: that the Venetians, every tenth year, should pay the King of Hungary seven thousand pounds, provided he kept all his part of Dalmetia free from pirates, and suffer no salt to be made in his dominions there; and that the Patriarch of Aquilegia should have the same power in Friuli as before the war. But the Venetians and the Genoese were ordered to send home each other's captives, without any mention of the spoils which were taken on either side. The Paduese were commanded to draw off from the siege of Treviso, and to demolish the towers and forts which they had raised in fens, and at the mouths of several rivers, upon which account bounds were set out between the Venetians and those of Padua. In the meanwhile, Charles, whom we told you the Pope sent for out of Hungary to go against Joanna, came into

Italy with eight thousand horse, and first reduced Arezzo, which had been long embroiled by the seditions of the Guelphs and Gibellines. From thence, moving towards Florence, he was repelled by John Hawkwood, who at that time quartered at Stagia. But the Florentines, fearing they should not be able to endure the shock of such a mighty king, they purchased a peace of him at the rate of £40,000, and discharged Hawkwood without his pay; who sold Bagnavallo to Nicolas and Albert d'Este, that they might the better keep Faenza in obedience, which, notwithstanding, they soon after lost by treachery to Astorgius Manfredus But Charles, after he had visited Urban at Rome, went into his kingdom, and having conquered all Joan's forces, took Naples by surrender. The queen was besieged in Castelnovo, when the Guelphs of Arezzo made a tumult and forced James Caracciolo, a citizen of Naples, who was sent thither by the king, to fly into the castle. The Gibellines also fled thither too, whose good that just man consulted as much as the Guelphs'. For he desired to carry everything alike with equity in all cases Wherefore having sent for Alberic Barbiano from Todi upon the account of an injury which he revived, he went into the city, and whilst he strove to reduce the Guelphs, he plundered the Gibellines also. And Ferraback, another general who followed Alberic, took all the remaining spoil that he could find in Arezzo. Whilst these things were transacted in Naples and Arezzo, a new cloud of war overcast Italy. For Lewis of Anjou, of the blood-royal of France, entered Italy with thirty thousand horse, and posted himself not far from Bologna, being set on by Clement, the anti-Pope, not so much to free Queen Joanna who was besieged, as by force to depose Urban. For this reason Charles left Arezzo and sent for Alberic and Ferraback, to whom also the Florentines sent John Hawkwood at the request of Urban. Lewis, going through Marci, was come as far as the forest of Cassino, expecting twelve thousand horse, which were already come into Italy under the command of Andegranius, and marching through Piacenza, Lucca, Florence, and Siena, were arrived at Arezzo, where they were let in by the Guelphs and sacked the city, after Alberic had given them a fatal blow. The Gibellines defended the castle, which was besieged forty days, and had been taken by the French, had not Lewis of Anjou died in the meantime. Then Andegranius, seeing how things went, by advice of the people of Arezzo, that

were besieged in the castle, sold the city to the Florentines, and so returned into France. And the Anjouan soldiers, now destitute of their general, wandered home by two or three in a company, begging by the way. Urban being now delivered from the fear of the French, went to Naples, and asked leave of the king to make his nephew Butillo, Prince of Capua, which when he could not obtain, being of a clownish and uncivil temper (which he would have had to be interpreted a blunt down-right honesty), he began to threaten him, and provoked the king so far, that he set a guard upon him for some days, and would not suffer him to walk the streets. This affront he seemed to wink at for a time, and with the king's good leave went to Nocera, to avoid (as he himself said) the heat of that city; where, when he had fortified the town, he made some new cardinals, and imprisoned seven of the old ones, charging upon them a conspiracy with the king and the anti-Pope against him. Besides that, he commanded a process (to speak in their phrase) against the king, and sent him a citation to appear; and had this answer from him, that he would come very shortly to Nocera, and acquit himself of all crimes objected, not with words but with weapons. And in order thereunto, he came to Nocera with a competent army, and besieged the town. But Raymund Balcianus, of the family of the Orsini, and son to the Earl of Nola (who was afterward Prince of Taranto), was concerned at the indignity, with his own forces, which he commanded under the king, he carried Urban and the whole court to the next shore, and put them on board certain Genoese galleys prepared for the purpose. By the way, as the Pope sailed to Genoa, he took seven cardinals at Nocera, of which he put five into bags and drowned them in the sea. But upon the death of Lewis, King of Hungary, the nobility of that country sent presently for Charles: who going thither, called a convention of the estates for the settling of affairs; but whilst he was busy upon it, the Queen, who owed him a grudge, procured him to be murdered, in the year 1385. This was just about the time when John Galeazzo put Bernabo Visconti (his uncle by the side of his father Galeazzo) into prison at Monza, where he kept him as long as he lived, and enjoyed his estate. For formerly, when they divided their patrimony, Pavia, Vercelli, Novara, Tortona, Alessandria, and other places toward the Apennine Mountains and the Alps, fell to Galeazzo, and Piacenza, Cremona,

Parma, Lauden, Brescia, and Pergamo, to Bernabo; Milan being common to both. Urban had now passed a whole year at Genoa, when news was brought him that the Florentines incited the cities belonging to the Church to assert their liberty, as they had done formerly; upon which he went first to Lucca, and then to Siena and Perugia; and those cities being confirmed in their allegiance by his coming, he went as far as Ferentino under the pretence of seeing Naples; but his true design was to turn Ladislaus, a very child, and John, both sons to Charles, out of their paternal inheritance For many noblemen that favoured Lewis of Anjou gave him hope of enjoying that kingdom; but those of Gajetta were very faithful, and preserving the children alive, saved the kingdom too, to their great honour. The Pope, therefore, returned to Rome, not being able to effect his design, but was received into the city with great pomp; though not long after the Banderesii laid wait for him, which yet he escaped, and frustrated. He created in one day twenty-nine cardinals, of which three were Romans, the rest almost all Neapolitans. In the meanwhile Antonius Scala of Verona, and Francis the elder, Lord of Padua, were engaged in a bloody war, in which John Ubaldin led the army of the Carrarese, and John Ordelafo that of the Scaligeri. But Galeazzo Visconti, with the assistance of the Carrarese, conquered the Scaligeri, and took Verona and Vincenza. Nor was he so contented, but in a few months he besieged and took Padua, and imprisoned Francis Carrara at Monza; Francis, his son, escaping by flight. The Florentines, also willing now to increase their dominions, took Monte-Pulciano and Lusignano, two towns in the territories of Siena, by stratagem rather than by strength; and afterwards sent Charles, son to Bernabo, and Antony Scala, with five thousand horse into the country of Siena to forage. This moved Galeazzo to such a degree, that he despatched ambassadors to Florence to complain, that, contrary to the league heretofore made between them, the Florentines had entertained in pay his enemies, Charles Visconti and Antony Scala, and that against all right and justice they had harassed his friends and allies, the Sienese: in fine, his ambassadors were commanded to declare war against them, except they drew off their forces from the Sienese, and disbanded those officers. But lest Galeazzo should have been as good as his word, Peter Gambacorta, Lord of Pisa, a friend both to him and to the Florentines,

interposed, and undertook to make up the business. In the meantime Urban died at Rome in the eleventh year and eighth month of his unhappy pontificate; and was buried in St Peter's Church, where there was but little mourning for him, as being a rustical and an inexorable man. His sepulchre or tomb is yet to be seen, with a very rude and silly inscription upon it.

## BONIFACE IX.

1389-1404.

BONIFACE the Ninth, a Neapolitan, formerly called Peter Tomacelli, was made Pope at Rome, by general consent of the cardinals, in the year 1389. Who, though he were not above thirty years old when he entered upon the Popedom, yet he lived so strictly at that florid age, and in those wicked times, that no act of lust or inordinate pleasure could be charged upon him; for he seemed to have changed his youth into age. And then he was a person of such courage and conduct, that he was the first who invested all the power of Rome in the Pope alone, so that he created magistrates as he pleased, and fortified the Castle of St Angelo, which is situate near the Tiber as you go to the Vatican, and set guards upon all the bridges across the Tiber. Whilst this Boniface IX. was in the chair, Galeazzo made war upon the Florentines and Bolognians, by his generals, John Ubaldin and Lantedescus Petramala, who in the valley of Arno plundered and spoiled all far and near. James Vermes likewise entered the territories of Bologna upon his own account, and did the city great damage. The Florentines, in the meantime, to prevent with their utmost these evils, sent John Hawkwood, Charles, son to Bernabo, and Antony Scala with four thousand horse and two thousand foot to aid the Bolognians, their friends and allies; and solicited Stephen, Duke of Bavaria (to whom Francis the younger was fled for refuge), both by letters and messengers, to come and assist them. Beside, they hired James, Earl of Armeniac, for a great deal of money, to come down into Italy against Visconti, and divert him from their borders to defend his own. Francis the younger also, at their entreaty, disguising himself, and favoured

by the Venetians, got into Padua, and took the city before anybody was aware. The Duke of Bavaria followed him at the heels, and, entering the town, stormed the castle without any intermission. And the Veronese, startled at this turn of affairs, beat out the guards of the Visconti, and invited Antony Scala to their side, who just about that time died in Tuscany, leaving one only child, a little boy. Which, when they heard, they repented of what they had done, and immediately sent for Ugulot Blancardus, who was with Galeazzo's army in Cremona, having begged pardon for their crime and paid some thousands of pounds to atone for their error. Blancard being let in, could not keep the soldiers from sacking the wealthy city, but the wife of Galeazzo, out of pity for the noble town, after three days stayed any further plundering. The Duke of Bavaria, now complaining that the subsidies promised him by the Florentines were not fairly paid him, raised the siege of the castle at Padua, and went into Germany. Thereupon the Florentines, having procured passage for their troops of Albert d'Este, who was fallen out with Galeazzo a good while before, sent John Hawkwood to assist young Carrara; by whose valour and skill the castle of Padua was quickly brought to surrender. So that the forces of Galeazzo who were sent for their relief retired into the country of Vicenza. By this time the Earl of Armagnac, a pensioner of the Florentines, was arrived in Italy, by the way of Turin, with twenty thousand horse, and having taken Castellaccio by storm, he gave the plunder to his soldiers. To oppose this enemy, Galeazzo was necessitated to recall his men out of the country of Vicenza: while the Milanese, who were posted in the suburbs of Alessandria, were furiously set upon by those of Armagnac without any order, but the Italians drew out the battle so long, fighting for some time before the gates till their men (whom they had sent about to fall upon their enemy in the rear) could have time to surprise them. While the fight continued, they came about, so that the enemy was attacked in the rear, front, and flank in such a dreadful manner (for the townspeople also aided them) that they were almost all of them killed before they were sensible what danger they were in. The Earl of Armagnac himself, general of this great army, was taken, but died immediately of a wound that he received. Besides him there were taken Rainardus Langfigliatius and John Riccio, two Florentine

knights, who had guided the Earl into Italy. Galeazzo, grown confident by this victory, sent part of his forces against Hawkwood, who had passed the rivers Adige and Mencio, to join Armagnac, upon notice whereof Hawkwood hasted toward Padua, but lost a great many men by the way, who were drowned in the sluices that the country people had made to hinder their retreat. But the Florentines being hard put to it by James Vermes, who was sent thither by Galeazzo with twelve thousand horse and four thousand foot, called back Hawkwood, who overcame their enemies by stratagem, whom he was not able to conquer in the open field. In the meantime a peace was made at Genoa, upon good conditions, between Galeazzo and the Florentines, by the mediation of Pope Boniface and Antony Adurno, general of the Genoese. But one flame was no sooner quenched but another broke out. For Francis di Vico, prefect of the city, got Viterbo out of the Pope's hands by treachery; and Peter Gambacurta, lord of Pisa, and his sons, were killed by James, his secretary and counsellor, who straight usurped his seigniory. At this time, also, upon the death of Albert d'Este, one Azzo, of the same family, who had been banished a long time, attempted to be restored to his country by the power of the counts of Cunie. But the guardians of young Nicolas, son of Albert, took up arms, and, driving Accius from Ferrara, promised the towns of Lugo and Monselice to John Cunio, if he would kill Azzo. But he showed them a trick for it, and only killed a man very like him; upon which the towns being surrendered to him, he produced the real Azzo. Alberic, his progenitor, would never have done such an act; to whom the Italians owe more than to all the generals of his age. For he first taught the Italians the art of war (when they had been long unaccustomed to arms), how to defend themselves from domestic as well as foreign enemies. For before his time, if the Italians had any war either among themselves or against the barbarians, they were forced to desire the aid of foreign soldiers. But he raised such a mighty army in a short space under the banner of St George that he drove the Bretons (who had ruined our country, and the castles belonging to the Church), together with the Germans, English, and all other invaders out of Italy. From him arose the Bracceschi and Sforceschi, by whom Italy gained so much glory, that other nations either were content to be quiet for fear, or if they attempted to invade us, it was

at the cost of their lives. In the meantime Clement VII., the anti-Pope, died, and in his place the cardinals, who joined in the present schism, put up Peter Luna, then called Benedict XIII., at Avignon. At that time, also, Wenceslaus,[1] son to Charles the Emperor, succeeded him; from whom John Galeazzo Visconti received the title of Duke of Milan [1395] by his ambassador, Peter Philargi, Archbishop of Milan, who afterward got the papacy, and was called Alexander the Fifth. But Galeazzo, when John Hawkwood was dead and buried at Florence (whom the Florentines made use of as their chief commander in their wars), resolved to send Alberic with an army into Tuscany, to keep the Florentines in awe, who then made war upon Appian, lord of Pisa. There were in that army Paul Orsini, Ceculino, Brolia, Brandelino, Paul Sabello, Luke Canali, great captains; who, going with joint forces and counsels to besiege Florence, pitched their camp near the Carthusian monastery; from whence they continually infested the city of Florence and all the country about it with frequent inroads, and filled all places with slaughter, rapine, and fire, *An. Dom.* 1397. At which time Boniface went to Perugia to procure a reconciliation between the nobility and commonalty there. But the commonalty, even in the Pope's presence, took up arms against their promise and killed eighty of the nobles, and then made Biordo and Nichilotto, who were admitted into the city as heads of their faction, chief lords of all. The Pope was angry at that, and went to Assisi, from whence he sent agents to Galeazzo, to desire him that he cease to attempt Mantua, which he then besieged by land and water, having sent for Alberic Barbiano into that country to assist in the war. But the Florentines and the Venetians being bound as allies to aid Mantua, they sent a good army under the conduct of Charles Malatesta (cousin to the Duke of Mantua), who defeated Galeazzo's forces at Governo. At that time the Florentines had a design to call upon the Pisans, but the Earls of Puppio and Balono, and the Ubertine rebels, who threatened destruction to the city of Florence if they stirred a foot against the Pisans, diverted them from it. But not long after James Appian died, and his son Gerard succeeded him, who, when he could not keep Pisa in subjection by reason of the tumults which the Florentines raised in it, he sold the city to Galeazzo

[1] [He succeeded in 1378, and reigned until 1400, when he was deposed.—Ed.]

Visconti in the year 1399, keeping only one town for him and his, called Piombino. At Perugia, Biordo being slain by the contrivance of Lantedescus, the Perugians endeavoured to assert their liberty; and when Ugolin Trinci of Fuligno, the Pope's vicar there, endeavoured in his name to bring Perugia into the Church's patrimony, the citizens were angry, and surrendered themselves to Galeazzo, who two months after got possession also of Bologna and Lucca by a wile Hence was the fear of the Florentines so increased, that they gave out that they and their liberty were all lost unless Galeazzo were taken off. The year of jubilee approaching, the Pope was moved by ambassadors from Rome to leave Assisi and reside with them, which, though he was very willing to do, yet he concealed his desire, and told them he would not; because, he said, they denied to have senators chosen out of foreign nobility, according to the custom and orders of former Popes, and because they had chosen conservators of the chamber on their own head: men not fit for the employment, who gave too much licence to the Banderesii. Then the Romans, to gratify the Pope, removed the Banderesii, and admitted of Malatesta, son to Pandulphus of Pesaro, a learned man, as senator, in the Pope's name, and furnished Boniface with money to go to Rome. When he was come into the city he fortified St Angelo (as I told you) with walls and turrets, and made himself by degrees master of the whole place. After that, in the year 1400, the jubilee was kept, and a great multitude of people flocked to Rome for devotion; and then the Florentines, being willing to be rid of Galeazzo, invited Rupert, Duke of Bavaria (whom the electors of the empire having deposed Wenceslaus of Bohemia, for his sloth, had chosen emperor), to come into Italy, upon condition that he should not have the promised reward till he was advanced as far as the Duchy of Milan. But when he was come to Brescia, near the Lago di Garda, and had received part of the money, he engaged with Galeazzo, and losing the day fled to Trent. The Venetians and Florentines promised him great things to keep him from going back into Germany, but all would not do. At that time Boniface, whether out of fear of the power of the Visconti, or out of covetousness to enlarge the Church's patrimony, was the first that imposed annates, or yearly payments upon ecclesiastical benefices, upon this condition, that whoever got a benefice should pay half a

year's revenue into the apostolical treasury. Yet there are those who attribute this invention to John XXII. Now, all countries admitted of this usage, except the English, who granted it only in case of bishoprics, but not in other benefices. Being thus strengthened with money, and choosing magistrates as he pleased, both in the city and all over the Church dominions, the Pope restored Ladislaus, a youth, son to Charles, King of Naples, into his father's kingdom, which was usurped by such as sided at that time with Lewis of Anjou. And to do it the more easily and honourably he abolished that deprivation of Charles, which Urban had promulged at Nocera, and sent Cardinal Fiorentino to Cajeta (which was the only place that had continued loyal), to crown the youth there, where he had been so loyally preserved. Galeazzo, thus rid of the emperor, sent his army under the command of Alberic against John Bentivoglio, who had turned out the garrison and made himself master of Bologna. At this time Francis Gonzaga fought in Galeazzo's army (for they two were friends again), as also Pandulphus Malatesta, Charles's brother, and Ottobon Rossi of Parma. The names of these men terrified the Florentines so, that they sent Bernardo, their general, to assist the Bolognians, their allies; which so encouraged the Bolognians that they engaged the enemy before their walls, but had the worst, and lost all their horse, as also Bernardo, who was killed in the fight. James Carrara was taken, but preserved at the request of Francis Gonzaga. Bentivoglio fled with a small number into the city, which, whilst he stoutly defended, he fell into an ambuscade, where he was killed, the enemy not being able to take him alive; so that now Galeazzo easily became master of Bologna, and struck great terror into the Florentines, threatening suddenly to turn all the force of his arms upon them. But not long after he died at Marignan of the plague, *An. Dom.* 1402, whose death, long wished for by the Florentines, freed them from many fears, and was presignified by a comet which appeared some time before. Upon this many usurpers arose, either those who were chief in their cities or who had command among the soldiery, by corrupting the garrisons, seized their several towns; there being now no one man of authority and power to correct their ambitions and excesses, infinite mischief happened. That fatal sedition too of the Guelphs and Gibellines was renewed, which ran through Italy two hundred years and above, and raised such civil wars

among the several cities that they fought till they had almost destroyed each other. Ugolinus Cavalcabos, having vanquished the Gibellines, was Lord of Cremona; whilst Otho the Third got Parma, expelling the Rossi. The Soardi seized Bergamo, the Rusconii took Como, the Vignati possessed themselves of Lodi, and Fazino Cane, an excellent general, made himself master of Vercelli, Alessandria, and many other towns thereabout. I omit others, who having been expelled by Galeazzo, then were in some hopes of recovering their usurped dominions: especially William Scala, and Charles Visconti, son to Bernabo, who solicited all the princes and people to revolt. Upon this account Piras Ordelaphus was banished his country and got possession of Forli; and Alberic, Earl of Cuni, would have reduced Faenza, then brought to extremity, if he had not been sent for in haste by Ladislaus, by the Pope's advice, and made great constable of Naples. The Pope had sent his brother also thither with a competent army, to assist the king; but he, being expelled by the Neapolitans, moved toward Perugia, and soon made that city subject to the Pope. Baltesar Cassa, also a Neapolitan cardinal of St Eustachius, compelled the Bolognians to return to the Church party, after he had besieged them for some time; in which expedition Brachius Montonius led the Church forces, as being a person well skilled in military affairs, and left for that reason in Romagna by Alberic. For he had fought under him from his youth, and been a commander, as had Sforza, who was born in Cotignola, a town of Romagna; by whose valour and prowess the militia of Italy so improved, that whoever wanted a commander would make use of one of them. Hence those military factions so increased that all the troubles of Italy for sixty years might be imputed to one of them; for he that was oppressed by the Brachians immediately hired the Sforzians to revenge his quarrel. But Alberic (from whom, as from the Trojan horse, so many generals did come) made Naples yield to Ladislaus, after a long siege, at which victory all the princes of the kingdom and all the cities surrendered themselves to the king. But Ladislaus, over desirous of enlarging his kingly power, before he had laid a good foundation in Naples, was sent for into Hungary, to accept of that kingdom by hereditary right, and in order thereunto sent over his forces. But whilst he was besieging Zara, his friends sent him word that the Neapolitans were like to revolt, wherefore having taken Zara,

and sold it to the Venetians, he returned to Naples; and calling back Alberic out of Romagna, he deposed all the nobles, and banished those that refused to obey him. But he was very severe upon the family of Sanseverino, and put the chiefest of them to death. Boniface being troubled at such a tedious confusion of affairs, at length died of a pleurisy, in the fourteenth year and the ninth month of his pontificate, *An. Dom.* 1404. He was buried at St Peter's in a marble tomb, of mosaic work, still to be seen with his coat-of-arms, which shows also that he built much in St Angelo, the Capitol, and the Vatican. Nor had anything been wanting to the glory of this Pope, if he had not been too partial to his relations, simony being often committed, by reason that his brethren and friends, who came to Rome in great multitudes to get money, asked for everything that fell in his gift without any reason. As for indulgences, and those plenary too, they were sold about at such a rate, that the authority of the Keys and the Pope's Bulls was brought into contempt. Boniface, indeed, endeavoured to amend these things, but was forced by the importunity of his friends to let it alone. And for this reason I think it would go better with the Church of God, if Popes would not mind their kindred, or at least not too much, but consult the good and honour of the papacy rather than promote the interest of flesh and blood. Especially at that time, when Tamberlane, who conquered the Turks, and led their emperor in chains along with him, was dead, and had left all the Armenians, Persians, Egyptians, and Assyrians without governors, so that the Christians might easily have recovered Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre. But his care was placed nearer home, for he persecuted the Albi (Bianchi, or Whites), that would have introduced a new sort of superstition under his pontificate, of whom I heard my father (who saw the man) say that there was a certain priest who came down from the Alps into Italy the year before the jubilee, with a great many after him, and being clothed in white cloth, pretended so much modesty, that everybody looked upon him as a saint, so that this fellow coming into Italy drew a great number of men and women over to his opinion in a short time. And these people at night lay, men or women, peasants or citizens, servants or freemen, promiscuously together, covered with their white robes, like so many sheep. They feasted in the public streets, and strove who should bring the best provisions.

The priest himself carried a crucifix, which, he said, wept for the sins of mankind, and as often as it did so, the people set up a clamour and begged pardon of God. They sang the lauds or praises of the blessed Virgin, going along and standing still, in hymns made for that purpose. But as he came from Piedmont and that way, into Romagna, Tuscany, and Milan, the opinion of his sanctity was advanced, whereby he brought over not only the rude and unlearned commonalty, but even great men and bishops of several cities. At Viterbo, being tired with travelling, he tarried with the multitude, and from thence said he would come to Rome, to visit the holy places and bodies of the saints. But Boniface, fearing him to be a cheat, and thinking, as he said, that the superstitious knave had a mind to get the popedom by the assistance of that gang about him, he sent soldiers to meet him, and bring him to Rome, which done, some write that his knavery was detected by fortune, and that he was deservedly burnt alive; but others say the man was guiltless, and that it was only a trick of the Pope to raise that report of him, whereas he put him to death out of envy. Which is true, God knows; but this is certain, that after so great a conflux of people, caused partly by this and partly by the jubilee, a number of men died of the plague. But amidst all the evils wherewith Italy was afflicted, we received one benefit. For Chrysoloras Byzantius brought the Greek learning into our country, which had been neglected in Italy for four hundred years. Hence came the Greek and Latin schools, where Guarinus, Victorinus, Philielphus, Ambrose the monk, Leonard and Charles of Arezzo, and many more were educated, by the emulation of whom, many wits were excited to laudable studies.

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## INNOCENT VII

### 1404-1406.

INNOCENT the Seventh, of Sulmona, before named Cosmo, cardinal-priest of Santa Croce, was made Pope at Rome, when all Italy was in an uproar. For John Galeazzo being dead, and leaving two sons but young, all Italy betook themselves to arms. John Maria, the elder son, got the duchy of

Milan , and Philip Maria, the younger, made himself lord of Pavia with ease, as lawful earl of it. The other cities, to the number of twenty-five, revolted from the Visconti. Paul Guiniffius, a citizen of Lucca, usurped the dominion of his country; Francis Carrara, now that general was gone off, whose arms he exceedingly feared, that he might enlarge his territories, sent ambassadors to Verona, Brescia, Bergamo, and Cremona, to solicit the Guelphs to be on his side. But when he saw William Scala and Charles Visconti (who desired to govern their own cities) could hinder his attempts, he promised William the signiory of Verona, and that of Milan to Charles, of whom he borrowed thirty thousand pounds. So he restored William to his country ; but he soon after was poisoned, and then Verona fell again to Francis. He would have served Charles the same trick, when he was urgent with him, either to perform his promise or to pay the money he had lent him. He also advised Francis Gonzaga by letter to come over to his side, and embrace his alliance; and if he would not, that he would look upon him as an enemy, and give him reason ere long to repent of his obstinacy. And that, he said, was easy , because he having got Verona, which bordered upon Mantua, he should shortly compass Brescia too, and so teaze the Mantuese as he pleased. Francis resolved to say nothing in answer to him, till he heard what the Venetian ambassadors said, whom he understood to be upon the way coming to him. For the Venetians, suspecting the power of the Carrarese, took Vincenza into their protection by a free surrender of the citizens, who feared Francis' strength; and would rather be under any lord than one of Padua, for there was a mortal hatred between the Paduans and those of Vincenza So then, the Venetians admonished Francis Carrara, that he should not meddle with those of Vincenza, who were their tributaries: and that he would raise the siege from Cologna, which they accounted within their dominions; if not, that the Venetians would revenge their quarrels. Francis replied, that he admired at the impudence of the Venetians, who, though they have no right or claim to anything upon the continent, yet would prescribe laws to them who had just titles. He therefore bade them go and confine themselves within their bays, and fens, and let them alone to govern the several cities, who had derived a right to it from their forefathers. This enraged the Venetians, who thereupon sent

instructions to their ambassadors, then upon the road, to make a league with Francis Gonzaga, and choose him general of their forces, with an honourable yearly stipend. And Francis (when the league was made) thought it best to make haste, because he heard the enemy had gotten Cologna, and raising a great army, attacked the Veronese on that side that lies toward Mantua. The Venetians from Vincenza did the same; which so terrified the Veronese, that having no hopes of help they surrendered. For the citizens hated Francis Carrara, for having poisoned William Scala, and imprisoned his sons, after he had gotten Verona by a wile. But as the army entered the city, keeping their exact order, for fear of some stratagem of the enemy, James Carrara, who had commanded the garrison, ran away with some few soldiers to Hostia. But as he crossed the Po, he was taken prisoner and sent to Venice. Now the Venetians, having fortified Verona as well as they could, marched thence with all their forces to Padua, which they besieged, though it were fenced with very high walls, and a deep ditch, and garrisoned with stout men: and after some months, having blocked up the avenues for provision, they had it yielded to them [1405]. Francis was fled into the castle, with his sons and nephews: but the Venetians took that too not long after, by surrender of the soldiers within, who were ready to starve. But Francis being taken and sent to Venice, was put to death along with his brother And this was the end of him, who indulged his own lust of ruling so much, that he contemned peace, and would get all things by force of arms. But this was not the end of our misfortunes. For, either by the neglect of Popes (who used to procure peace either by interdictions, menaces, or force), or rather by means of the schism (under which the Church of God did at that time labour), it was come to that pass, that every base usurper, after the death of John Galeazzo, would venture upon any mischievous design. And though Innocent, whilst he was cardinal, used to blame the negligence and timorousness of former Popes, saying, their sloth was the cause, that the schism, which was the bane of the Church of Rome and of all Christendom, was not rooted out. Yet when himself had gotten the Popedom, he followed Urban's and Boniface's steps in several things, which he had carped at in them when he was a private person: and not only did not what he had before commended, but took it very

ill if any one mentioned it to him. Beside, he was so furious in his administration of the government, that once, when the Romans desired to have their liberty restored, and that the Capitol, Ponte Molle, and St Angelo might be put into their hands, and also were urgent with him to extirpate the schisms (which had been so destructive, and of such ill example) out of the Church, and that he would seek the peace of Christendom (since the King of France promised to assist him in it, and Peter Luna, the anti-Pope, was not against so good a work), the Pope even sent the Romans themselves to Lewis, his nephew, who lay at the Hospital of the Holy Ghost in the Stone Way, as to an executioner. For eleven of these public-spirited citizens were presently put to death, and thrown out at the windows; for that, he said, was the only way to remove schism and sedition. The people of Rome were so incensed at this cruel usage, that they sent for Ladislaus, King of Naples, and took up arms to revenge themselves of Lewis. But the Pope, to avoid the fury of the people, took Lewis along with him and ran away to Viterbo. Whereupon the people, seeing they could not satisfy their wrath upon the author of the villany, turned their indignation upon the courtiers, and plundered them of all they had. Yet some, they say, were preserved in the houses of several Roman cardinals, who, with much ado, did make a shift to protect those that fled to them, by the assistance of their clients. Then the Romans having taken the Capitol, and Ponte Molle, they attempted St Angelo; but in vain, though they were assisted by John Colonna, Earl of Troja, Gentilis Monteramus, Earl of Carrara, great commanders under King Ladislaus. But when Paul Orsini came upon them by order of the Pope, with Mostarda and Cecchalino, they routed John Colonna and Ladislaus' men that were left, in a place called Nero's Meads. This was a great damage to the Romans; for their men and cattle were driven away; and therefore, when their anger was over, they became friends with the Pope, and desired him to return home to the city. For he was naturally courteous, and affable, learned in the civil and canon law, and well skilled in the art of persuasion. When, therefore, things were thus composed, he came to Rome, and made more cardinals, among which were Angelus Carrara, a Venetian, Cardinal of St Mark, after called Gregory XII., Peter Philardi, a Candiot, Cardinal of the Twelve Apostles, afterwards Alex-

andei and Otho Colonna, Cardinal of St George, after called Martin V. Thus having settled the Popedom, he created Louis, his nephew, Marquis of Marca d'Ancona and Prince of Fermo ; but he himself died a little after at Rome in the second year of his pontificate, and was buried in St Peter's, in a chapel that was formerly dedicated to the Popes (which Nicolas V. afterwards repaired), and his tomb bears this inscription: "*Innocentio VII., Pontifici Maximo cum neglecti ejus Sepulchri memoria interisset, Nicolas V. Pontifex Maximus restitui curavit.*" In the meantime the Italians wanted a true Pope and a good emperor, and, therefore, every one did what they pleased. For Cabrinus Fundulus, of whom Charles Cavalcabos made great use both in war and peace, being puffed up with hopes of being sole governor (because all magistrates and lieutenants of castles obeyed him as much as Charles), he murdered Charles, with his brethren and kindred, at Machasturma, ten miles from Cremona, as he was coming back from Lodi From thence he fled with a few men to Cremona before the thing was known in the city, and having got possession of the fort and all the gates, he went into the market all in arms, and whomsoever he saw that was likely to withstand his designs he banished or put to death. But to make himself absolute, he omitted no kind of cruelty. Nor could the great men of Milan hinder this, being themselves embroiled by the different designs of Gucegaldo, governor of Genoa, who attempted to bring Milan to subjection to the French king, and of Facino Cane, an excellent commander, who strove to conserve it in the hands of the heir, John Maria Visconti. Now also Otho III., Lord of Parma, was enticed, upon pretence of treating with him, by Nicolas d'Este, to Rubera, a castle of his, where, at the command of Nicolas, he was killed by Sforza Cotignoli, upon whose death Nicolas immediately got Reggio and Parma by surrender of the citizens, who hated the name of Otho. But Ladislaus, having been possessed of Rome, as I said before, and Perugia being put into his hands, which had been brought low by the forces of Biaccio, he led his army into Tuscany, which, by the industry and conduct of Malatesta of Pesaro, was so bravely defended, that Ladislaus was beaten thence and retreated into his own kingdom, having received more damage than he had done his enemies. But the Florentines being delivered from

such an enemy turned their arms towards the Pisans, and after a long siege took Pisa, under the conduct of Tartaglia and Sforza in the year 1406.

## GREGORY XII.

### 1406-1415.

THE schism continuing still in the Church, to the decay of Christianity, one Pope being chosen at Rome and another at Avignon, the princes of France,—to wit, the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Orleans (who at that time governed all France during the king's indisposition)—took pity on the Church at last, and came to Avignon to Peter Luna, who was called Benedict XIII., and desired him to commiserate the Church now falling to ruin, though it were to relinquish the pontificate, he having promised so to do upon oath in the conclave when he was made Pope. And they engaged the other Pope, that was then made at Rome after Innocent's death, should do the same. For these princes and those of Italy, who both were hearty lovers of Christianity, had agreed that those two which strove for the pontificate, of whom one was of the French and the other of the Italian faction, should be put by, and some one afterwards elected, that might be the father and Pope of all nations. Benedict replied: that he should grievously offend God if he forsook the Church of God, whose patron and public father he was made by universal consent of all good men, and that he would not hold that seat precariously to which he had been so fairly chosen. As to what they said concerning extirpating the schism and treating of unity, he professed it pleased him very much, so it were debated in a free place, and that no man might lie under any force from either party. Yet one thing he promised them, and confirmed it with an oath, that if the schism could not be composed by any other means, that then he would wholly lay down the pontifical dignity if the other anti-Pope would do so at the same time. Thereupon the princes began to consult among themselves how they should bring over Benedict to their opinion. But he fearing their consults and conferences furnished the Papal Palace with arms and all necessary provisions; and there he stayed, and was besieged for some

months, till at last he got galleys ready for his escape, and sailed down the Rhone into Catalonia, where he was born. There are, indeed, who write that the princes of France did make that attempt upon Benedict, by the persuasion of French cardinals, who hated him because he was not of their nation. For when they could not agree concerning the choice of a French Pope after Clement's death, they elected him, after a long debate, as a person of great virtue and devotion; but he often admonishing them to live soberly and holily, and forbidding simony upon severe penalties, they grew weary of his strictness, and notwithstanding his love to Christianity instigated the French princes against him. Christianity was in all countries, but most of all in France. They met at St Peter's in the Vatican, where each of them took an oath, and bound it with the greatest imprecations, that they would relinquish the pontificate whosoever of them happened to be elected to that great dignity, upon condition that the anti-Pope would do the same. They came to this resolution to satisfy the French nation, who, having been so foolish as to make an anti-Pope, had brought in a custom from which they could not recede without dishonour, unless the Italians did so too; and not only so, but to comply with Benedict's judgment, who said the Church could never be healed but by that means only. But if both were deposed, one true Pope might be elected by consent of all the cardinals there, to whom all kings and princes should pay obedience. Upon this condition Angelus Corarius, a Venetian, Cardinal of St Mark's (who, as I told you, was called Gregory XII.), was chosen at Rome, November 2, 1406, and immediately in writing, by the hands of notaries, and before witness, confirmed what he had promised before his pontificate, and set his hand to it. But when they came to discourse about a place where they might both meet without danger, and could not agree, they were esteemed by both assemblies of cardinals no better than shufflers and promise breakers. Nevertheless, the cardinals, some from Rome and some from Avignon, met at Pisa, and there with one accord they deprived Benedict and Gregory of their pontifical honour, and that by the consent of all nations except the hither part of Spain, the King of Scotland, and the Earl of Armagnac, who favoured Benedict. Then they proceeded to elect a new Pope who might govern the Church of God without sedition, and the result was, the

creating of Gregory being absent, and this election depending, Rome was all up in arms; for Ladislaus, the king, had taken Ostia, and put his land and sea forces into it, and thereby so harassed the Romans with inroads, that he forced them to sue for peace, and to receive him honourably into the city as their governor, where he changed their civil officers, fortified according to his own mind their gates and walls. But Paul Orsini, general of the Church forces, coming upon him, they fought stoutly in the Septimiano near St James's, and lost a great many men on each side; for the king kept his men on the farther side of Tiber, supposing that he should be the safer in that place, by reason of his naval forces, whom he had brought from Ostia to Rome. But at last yielding to, rather than flying from, the Orsini faction, which increased every day, he went to Naples; his party being very much weakened by a victory obtained before he came thither over the Colonnese, that fought under John Colonna, Baptista Sabellus, James Orsini, and Nicolas Colonna, who had taken St Laurence's gate and got into the city. But when Paul Orsini came up (as I told you) they were most of them taken and all vanquished. Two of them were put to death, one of which was Galeot, a famous Norman cavalier, and the other was called Richard Sangumeus, of a noble and an ancient family. The rest were discharged, upon condition they would never fight for Ladislaus again. From these troubles at Rome, there arose such a dearth of all provisions that a rubio of wheat was sold for eighteen florins, because the cattle were all driven away and the husbandmen destroyed, as is usual in the wars.

## ALEXANDER V.

1409-1410.

ALEXANDER the Fifth, of Candia, formerly called Peter, Friar of the Order of Minors, and Cardinal of Milan, a man famous for holiness and learning, was made Pope by consent of all the cardinals that were at that time in the Pisan assembly; so that Gregory fled, as it were, into Austria, and talked there of a General Council. But not thinking himself

safe enough there, he went for Rimini, and was splendidly received by Charles Malatesta. And Benedict, having a council at Perpignan, fled to the castle of Panischola, a very strong place, where he stayed a good while for his better security But though they were both deposed in the council at Pisa, yet they created cardinals like true Popes; especially Gregory, who, whilst he tarried at Lucca, made Gabriel Condelmero cardinal by the consent of all the cardinals that continued of his party, which Gabriel was after elected Pope and called Eugenius IV. But I return to Alexander, who was an excellent man in the whole course of his life. He was of the Order of Minors from his youth, and took so much pains in his studies at Paris, both in humanity and divinity, that he soon became a public reader, and wrote very acutely and learnedly upon the Books of the Sentences. He was also reckoned a great orator and a great preacher, and therefore he was sent for by John Galeazzo, Duke of Milan, and made his chief counsellor. After that, at Galeazzo's request, he was made Bishop of Vincenza, then translated to Novara, and last of all being made Cardinal of Milan, he was created Cardinal of the Twelve Apostles by Innocent VII. From which step he rose to the pontifical dignity, and was deservedly styled Alexander, because he might compare with any prince for liberality and greatness of mind; for he was so munificent to the poor and all that deserved his bounty that in a short time he left himself nothing. That made him use to say in a joke that he was a rich bishop, a poor cardinal, and a beggarly Pope; for he was free from that desire of getting which increaseth usually with a man's estate and his age. But it is a vice that cannot be found among good men that contemn the world; who, the older they grow, the less viaticum or provision they know they shall want for their journey, and therefore they restrain their desires, bridle their covetousness, and extinguish all evil lusts. Nay, Alexander was a person of that courage as to depose that powerful King Ladislaus (who, in the absence of several Popes, had for a long time much spoiled and harassed the Church dominions and taken some towns by force) at Pisa, in the council there, by approbation of all that were present; and declared his kingdom to belong to Lewis, Duke of Anjou. But when the council of Pisa broke up, the Pope went to Bologna, of which Balthasar Cossa, Cardinal of St Eustachius, was governor. Him Alexander confirmed in

his office, because by his industry and conduct the council was held at Pisa, and because he was a man fit to oppose usurpers or such as encroached upon the Church revenues. Yet there was more of rusticity, boldness, and worldliness in him than his profession required. He led a military life, and his manners were soldier-like, and he took the liberty of doing many things not fit to be named. But when Alexander was very sick and knew his death was very near, he exhorted the cardinals that visited him to concord and peace and to defend the honour of the Church, and swore, by that death he was just now about to undergo, and by the conscience of his well-acted life, that he did not think or believe that anything was decreed in the Pisan council but with all justice and integrity, without any deceit or fraud. This said, and the people weeping that stood by, he repeated that saying of our Saviour with much ado, "My peace I give unto you, my peace I leave with you;" and immediately died, in the tenth month of his pontificate, and was buried at Bologna, in the church of the Friars Minors: in which year there was a famine and a plague.

## JOHN XXIII.

1410-1415.

JOHN the Twenty-third, a noble Neapolitan, formerly called Balthasar Cossa, was chosen Pope at Bologna by general consent, though some say the election was carried by force; because he was not only legate of Bologna, but had soldiers in the city and country planted for the purpose, so that if he could not get in by fair means, he would by foul. However it was, it is most certain that he was made Pope, and always aspired to that dignity. For when he was a youth, and studied civil law at Bologna for some years, he took his degree there (according to custom), and then went to Rome. And being asked by some friends whither he was going, he answered, to the pontificate. When he came to Rome, he was entertained by Boniface IX., and made one of his privy chamber. Then he was made cardinal of St Eustachius's, and sent as legate *à latere* to Bologna, which he in a short space

subjected to the Church; together with a great part of Romagna, beating out some usurpers, and putting others to death. But after nine years, when he had enlarged the city of Bologna in a wonderful manner by a long peace, and gotten a great deal money, Alexander died, and then he used bribery, especially to the cardinals that Gregory had made (who were very poor), and so was made Pope. Thereupon he sent agents to the electors of the empire, to desire of them that they would choose Sigismund of Luxemburg, King of Hungary and Bohemia, emperor; as being a person very stout, and fit, as he said, for all brave actions. For this was his way to get into Sigismund's favour. And that succeeding according to his mind, he told them beforehand that, whereas it had been ordered in an assembly at Pisa that a council should be called at such a certain time, he would hold it at Rome, and nowhere else And that all might have the freer access thither, he endeavoured to settle Italy, especially that part near the Alps, in which the war did daily increase by the instigation of Fazinus Canis, who could not keep his mercenary soldiers under his command without employment. For he used to maintain them by rapine and plunder. At that juncture it happened that the Pavians, whom Philip could not contain in awe by reason of his minority, were grown factious, and took up arms. Then the Gibellines, under the conduct of the Beccarini family, brought Fazinus and his army into the city, and were to have the Guelphs' estates for doing it. But Fazinus, entering the town with his soldiers, spared neither one nor the other, but plundered both. And when the Gibellines complained that their goods too were plundered against his promise, he replied · the Gibellines, in their persons, should be safe; but their goods were Guelphs, which he would give as spoil to the soldiers, deriding the folly and covetousness of both factions. When he went from thence, he left a good garrison both at the gates and in the fort, pretending to be Philip's protector till he grew of age; and so went against Pandulphus Malatesta, where he teased the Brescians and Bergamese with frequent inroads and ravagings; nor did he spare those of Cremona, at that time governed by Cabrinus Fundulus During these transactions, the king of Hungary, who was going (as he pretended) to Rome freely to receive the imperial crown, sent twelve thousand horse and eight thousand foot against the Vene-

tians, and seizing Friuli, he set upon Treviso. Against this great army the Venetians sent Charles Malatesta to keep them off, not so much by fighting as by protracting of the time. The Venetians had like also to have lost Verona the same year by treachery of some of the citizens, who had more mind to try what they could get by violence than to preserve their liberty. But those that were guilty were punished, and there was an end of that. Fazinus Canis died the same year; after which, several persons conspiring together, killed John Maria, Duke of Milan, and took Bernabo's son and nephews into the city [1412]. Then Philip, by the persuasions of his friends, married Beatrice, Fazinus's widow, who was very rich, and had authority with the soldiers that had fought under her husband, Fazinus. By this means he had all the cities that paid homage to Fazinus presently surrendered to him, and drew Carmagnola and Siccus Montagnanus (who had seditiously divided the legion between them after Fazinus's death) to come to fight under his colours by the persuasions of Beatrice Which two commanders Philip made use of afterward, and by their assistance drove Bernabo's son, Astorgius, out of Milan, but killed him at the taking of Monza Things went thus in Milan and thereabouts, when John Francis Gonzaga, son to Francis that was deceased, went with a competent army of horse and foot to guard Bologna, at the command of Pope John, under whose banner he then fought. For Malatesta of Rimini, stipendiary to King Ladislaus, laid close siege to the city at that time. He, therefore, by the aid of the Bolognians, fought several sharp battles with the enemies; in which he had the better, and defended the city most gloriously. The winter following, Pope John was invaded by Ladislaus, which made him remove from Rome to Florence, and thence to Bologna [1413] Nor did he stay there long; but he went to Mantua, where he was splendidly entertained by John Francis Gonzaga, whom he took along with him at his departure thence, together with a great part of his forces at Lodi, whither he knew the king of Hungary would come. For he trusted much to that prince, whose faithfulness and integrity he had such experience of in the Bolognian Wars, though he had been tempted by Malatesta with gifts and promises to revolt to the king's party. But after, when the Pope and the king did not think themselves sufficiently safe at Lauden, they sent John Francis

to Mantua (whither they said they would go) with all speed, to prepare for their coming, and for the reception of such a multitude. He went and quickly made all things ready, and then returned to Cremona, where he heard the Pope and the king by that time were arrived. After that he conducted them to Mantua, where all the people came thronging out to meet them, and they were much more kindly received than was expected. Now, in these several meetings at Lodi, Cremona, and Mantua, it was considered how they should remove Ladislaus out of Campagna di Roma, Ombria, and Tuscany; for he had taken Rome and many other towns belonging to the Church. They saw that Italy could not be freed from the distractions of war by any other means, and therefore they thought it convenient to advise concerning a supply to carry on the affair not at Mantua, but Bologna, when they were come thither. But they had greater concerns still upon them, for John being urged to call a council by consent of all nations, for the removal of the schism, immediately sent two cardinals into Germany to advise with the princes of France and Germany and choose a convenient place for a council to be held at. Upon inquiry, Constance, a city within the province of Mentz, seemed to be most commodious for the purpose. Thereupon they all went thither by a certain day according to order; so likewise did Pope John himself, though some advised him to the contrary, because they told him they feared, if he went thither as Pope, he would return thence as a private person, and so it fell out. For going thither with certain men that were excellent in all sorts of learning, he puzzled the Germans so long with tedious disputations, that they could not tell what to decree. But Sigismund came up, who gave everybody leave to say what they pleased, and then great and grievous crimes were laid to the Pope's charge, upon which he went privately in disguise from Constance to Schaffhausen, for fear some dangerous plot might be contrived against him. Schaffhausen was a city belonging to the Duke of Austria, whither several cardinals also, that he had created, betook themselves. But they being called again by authority of the council, John fled from Schaffhausen to Friburg, designing to go, if possibly he could with safety, to the Duke of Burgundy But by the care of the council, John was taken and imprisoned near Constance, in the Isle of St Mark, in the fourth year of his pontifi-

cate, and the tenth month. Then the council began to inquire the reason of his flight, and chose several persons of great gravity and learning as delegates, to examine and weigh the objections made against John, and make an orderly report of it to the council. There were above forty articles proved against him: of which some contained faults which he was so habituated to, that he could not avoid them, and therefore they were judged contrary to the faith, and some of them were likely to bring a scandal upon Christianity in general, if they were not condemned in him Wherefore since they all agreed in the same opinion, John, who was deservedly and justly deposed, approved of their sentence though pronounced against him. And thereupon he was presently sent to Lewis the Bavarian, who was Gregory the Twelfth's friend, to be kept in custody till further order from the council. Accordingly he was blocked up in the Castle of Heidelberg, which was a very well fortified place, for three years, without any chamberlain or servant to attend him that was an Italian All his keepers were Germans, with whom he was fain to talk by nods and signs, because he neither understood the Teutonic language, nor they the Italian. They say John was deposed by those very men, and them alone, that were formerly his friends. For those that were of Gregory's and Benedict's party were not yet come to the council. These men, therefore, that they might make their deprivation of him just and perfect, with one accord published a synodical decree, wherein they affirmed that a general council lawfully called was the supreme authority next to Christ (Grant but this fundamental point and the Pope himself is inferior to a council.) Whereupon Gregory was forced, by the persuasions of the Emperor Sigismund, to send some person to the council (because he would not go himself) to approve of their proceedings in his name. So he sent Charles Malatesta, an excellent man, who seeing them all agree to make Gregory also lay down all claim to the papacy, he stood forth before them all, and sitting down in a chair that was made as stately as if Gregory himself was there, he read the instrument of renunciation over and presently deposed Gregory: for which free act of his he was made legate of Milan by all the council. But this person not long after died at Recanati of grief (as some say) for his so sudden deprivation before the time appointed. For he was clearly for deferring the business as long as he could, as

placing some hope in delay. But he died before Martin came to be Pope, and was buried in the church of Recanati. Now, though two Popes were removed, there remained a third who gave them more trouble than the other two, and that was Peter Luna, called Benedict XIII., as I told you before. But to force him to resign, Sigismund went personally with some agents of the council to the kings of England and France, and persuaded them for the sake of Christianity so much endangered by the schism, to assist him, now that the other two had laid down, in the removal of Benedict; who answering him to his mind, he went straight to Ferdinand, King of Aragon, whose subjects generally stood for Benedict, who agreed among other articles, either to persuade Benedict to resign, or to cause his people to withdraw their subjection to him (as Gregory and John had done in the council), and to submit to the council. But Benedict kept in his strong castle, and would not comply, persisting that he was Christ's true vicar, and that the city of Constance (where Pope John had been forced even by his own friends to exauctorate himself) was not a place of freedom requisite for a general council. The Spanish nobility, seeing Benedict's obstinacy, followed the order of the council, and came over to the rest. Now things were carried in the council by the suffrages of five nations, Italy, France, Germany, Spain, and England. And whatsoever was decreed by their votes, was confirmed, and published by a beadle, public notary before the court, as a general act. By this authority Benedict, when the matter had been bandied for some time, was deprived of the popedom, the nations that were of his side being either absent or rejected; especially the Scots, and the Earl of Armagnac. In the same council the heresy of John Wickliffe was condemned; and two of his followers, to wit, John Huss, and Jerome, his disciple, as heads of the heresy, were burned: because they affirmed, among other errors, that ecclesiastical men ought to be poor, for that all people were offended at their great wealth and luxury. Matters being thus composed, and mention made concerning reforming the Church and manners of the clergy, they thought that could not be done whilst the see was vacant. Then they discoursed about electing a new Pope, that the decrees of that council might have the more authority. And in order to it, they resolved to choose six good men out of every nation, who, together with the cardinals, should go

into the conclave and choose a new Pope. November 8, 1417, they went into the conclave, and by consent of twenty-three cardinals, and all the several nations (contrary to the expectation of all men in the presence of many of the schismatics), Otho Colonna, a nobleman of Rome, and cardinal deacon of St George, was made Pope upon St Martin's day, November 11, when the see had been without a true Pope for four years. And this was done so much to the satisfaction of all men, that the joy was inexpressible. The emperor was so mightily pleased at it, that he went into the conclave and gave them thanks (without any respect to his own dignity) for choosing so good a man, and one so fit to support Christianity, which was almost decayed. And then falling down prostrate before the Pope, he kissed his feet with great veneration; whilst the Pope, on the contrary, embraced him, and valued him as a brother, and gave him thanks, that by his means and industry, peace was restored once more to the Church of God. But the reason why he would be called Pope Martin was because the election was upon St Martin's day While these things were transacted at Constance, Ladislaus dying as he was going against the Florentines, the cry at Rome was, "To arms," and "for liberty." Whereupon Peter Mattheucii was forced against his will to assume the government of the city, though afterwards he relinquished the office, when he understood that a legate whom Pope John had designed to send thither would shortly come with a senator of Bologna. As soon as they were come they put Paul Palonius and John Cincius, two seditious citizens, to death. The year following Braccio Montone came with an army to Rome, and getting into the city, began to storm the Castle St Angelo, which was defended by a strong garrison of Queen Joanna's; who succeeded her brother Ladislaus in the kingdom. But when Sforza, the queen's general, came up, he not only raised the siege, but beat Braccio out of the city, the Romans siding with neither party John Colonna was killed in that fight by a private soldier that formerly had fought under Paul Orsini, whom Lewis Colonna, in Braccio's army, had formerly killed at Fuligno. Now the soldier had a mind to kill Lewis to revenge Paul's death, but John, who was innocent, died for it as he was going to save Lewis. Whilst Rome was in this tempestuous condition, rowing to and fro, it conceived at length some hope of quiet upon Martin's being chosen.

## MARTIN V.

### 1417-1431.

MARTIN the Fifth, a Roman, formerly called Otho Colonna, was made Pope in the council by the general consent of all the nations and cardinals, at a time when he as well as the Church was in a declining condition For he had been well educated by his parents' care from his childhood, and when he grew up he studied the canon law at Perugia, from whence he returned to the city, and for his integrity and learning was made referendary by Pope Urban VI. Which place he acquitted with so much humanity, justice, and mildness, that he was created cardinal deacon by Innocent VII. Nor did that make him forego his natural disposition. For he was more courteous than before, and lent his assistance to all that wanted it, yet so as not to meddle much in public matters. So that when there were many debates in the council of Constance by reason of the factions, he took the middle way, and seemed to incline to neither party, but always studied the general good. Being therefore beloved by the emperor, the cardinals, and, indeed, by all men, he was chosen Pope, in which office he was not idle, but active and careful, hearing, refuting, and approving; persuading, dissuading, exhorting, or deterring those that came before him according to reason and the merits of the cause. For he was very accessible; and never denied a reasonable request; besides that, he was a man of great prudence in debates. For he would tell what ought to be done, as soon as a thing was proposed to him. He was short in his speeches and wary in his actions, insomuch that people saw a thing effected before they could imagine he had thought of it. His discourse was full of sentences; nor did any word come from him so often, as "justice" frequently turning to his attendants and familiars, especially them that governed cities and provinces, and saying, "Love justice, ye that judge the earth." Indeed, the Church of God wanted such a Pope at that time to sit at the helm and steer St Peter's boat (then battered with waves of schism and sedition) into a safe port. He therefore having obtained this great dignity and seeing the hydra's head which might grow out again and multiply, was still left (that is, Benedict, formerly called Peter

Luna, who kept, with some few cardinals and prelates, in a place that might be called the very fort of schism). Whilst some people of Aragon were at a stand which way to incline, he, by approbation of the council, sent Alemannus Ademarius, a very learned man (whose tomb is still to be seen in new St Mary's), a Florentine, and Cardinal of St Eusebius, as legate *à latere* into Aragon; to admonish Peter upon ecclesiastical penalties and censures to resign the pontificate. Nay, even the cardinals that were on Peter's side, when they heard this ultimate resolution of the Pope and council, went to Peter and desired him at last to remove all schism out of the Church of God, with which Christendom had been for so many years afflicted, and told him that John and Gregory had done the same, in order to save the Church from ruin. Peter gave them some slight answer, and told them he could not do it, but he would agree with Martin, if all were true which people said of his integrity and humanity; and bid them let him alone to manage the business, and trouble themselves no more about it. But of the four cardinals who went to him, two observing his obstinacy, immediately revolted from him to Martin. And those two that continued on his side were presently counted anti-cardinals: one of which was a Carthusian, and the other called Julian Dobla. Upon this all Spain acknowledged Martin's authority, and so did the Scots and those of-Armagnac not long after. And so all Christendom, except one peninsula, owned the authority of Martin This great affair thus settled by the pains and industry of the ecclesiastic and secular princes, especially of Sigismund the emperor, they began to talk of reforming the manners of both the laity and clergy, which were debauched with too much licence. But because the council of Constance had lasted already four years, to the great inconvenience of prelates and their churches, it was Martin's pleasure, and the opinion of the council, that weighty affair should be deferred till some more seasonable opportunity, it being (he said) a work that would require much time and deliberation, because, as Jerome says, every country has its peculiar manners and customs, which cannot be easily removed without great disturbance. Now, because the schism from a small beginning had lasted a long time, to the great disadvantage of Christendom, upon notice that John XXIII. was escaped out of custody, fearing lest he should call another council, he

published a decree concerning the calling of councils: that from the end of the council at Constance no other council should be held within five years; and after that, within seven, and from thence it was drawn out to ten years, and was made a law, that every ten years a general council should be held in some convenient place, to treat of matters of faith and the common good of Christendom, in confirmation whereof, by the approbation of the council, Martin published his bulls. But he abrogated all decrees that were made during the schism, before his pontificate, except such as were made to promote faith or good manners. That all men might know he intended to call a council, he publicly advised concerning a commodious place for it, and at last chose Pavia by general approbation, and gave out his briefs to this purpose. "Martin, bishop, and servant of God's servants (for the future remembrance of the thing), being desirous to have obedience paid to the decree of this general council, upon a debate had concerning a place where the next council shall be holden, we do, with the approbation and consent of the said council, and by the authority of these presents, appoint the city of Pavia for that purpose. And let no man contravene this our decree, upon pain of the displeasure of God Almighty and of his Apostles SS. Peter and Paul. Given and enacted at Constance in the public council-house, April 18, in the first year of our pontificate." And now he was willing the council should be dissolved, wherefore calling a full assembly, with the good liking of the emperor and of all the rest, he commanded Ibaldo, Cardinal of St Vitus, to dismiss them, which he did by saying, "Sirs, depart in peace." Everyone now having leave to be gone, the Pope was desired, on the one side, by the emperor and the Germans, that he would tarry some time in their country, and by the French princes, on the other side, to go into France; but he told them he could not do it by any means, because, he said, the Church's patrimony was torn and spoiled by usurpers in Italy whilst the Pope was absent, and that the city of Rome, which was the metropolis of Christendom, was almost ruined for want of the presence of its governor, so much it had suffered by plague, famine, sword, fire, and sedition; beside that, the churches and chapels of the holy martyrs, by the Pope's absence, were either in ruins or ready to fall, and therefore he must be gone thither. He desired them to take that kindly which reason

and necessity forced him to, and that they would let him sit in Peter's chair, since they had unanimously chosen him Pope. That the Church of Rome was the mother and the head of all other Churches, and therefore the Pope ought to reside there, lest the true pilot should be displaced from the stern to the stem, to the great hazard and detriment of both passengers and sailors (*i e*, all Christian men). So he went from Constance, through Savoy, into Italy, and arrived at Milan where he was very kindly received by Duke Philip and all his people, who gave him all the respect imaginable. Philip was at that time in arms, endeavouring to recover his paternal inheritance, which the usurpers kept from him with great bravery and courage; for having once tasted how pleasant it was to govern, they were not easily turned out of possession. However, Carmagnola, Philip's chief commander, pressed Pandulphus Malatesta very hard, who having taken Bergamo, by bribing the governor to betray the castle, moved toward Brescia, and would have quickly stripped him of all his dominions, had he not been aided by the Venetians with great sums of money and stout cavalry; or had not Pope Martin persuaded Philip to make a peace with Pandulphus, which was accordingly afterward composed and agreed upon at Mantua, in the presence of Martin, and by the umpirage of John Francisco, upon these terms; to wit, that Pandulphus, paying a yearly tribute, should keep Brescia so long as he lived, but should not have power to give it away by will, because at his death it naturally devolved upon Philip. But the next year Pandulphus broke his peace, by endeavouring, by men and money, to keep Cabrinus Fundulus in the possession of Cremona. For Philip made war against him, and endeavoured to regain the city, which was his paternal inheritance, but had been so many years possessed by that usurper. Yet there was a report that Pandulphus had bought the city of Cabrinus, and promised to give him Riviera di Salo for it. But John Francisco strove all he could to keep him from this war, and sent ambassadors to tell him that he did contrary to all law and reason, in violating of leagues, defending a tyrant, and taking up arms against him who gave him the government of Brescia. And that Martin's authority ought not to be slighted, to say nothing of his own, by whose arbitrament the peace was made. But if he slighted the authority of men, at least he should reverence that of God, whom they had invoked as a witness to the

league, which he had broken. Soon after the Pope went away from Mantua, in the fourth month after he came thither, and passing through Ferrara and Romagna, he came to Florence, without calling at Bologna, which he shunned on purpose. For when they of Bologna heard that Balthasar Cossa was forced to lay down the pontificate, they expelled the church-officers and asserted their liberty. At that time Carmagnola pressed hard upon Pandulphus (by his breach of the peace made justly obnoxious to a war), and in a short space took a great part of the country of Brescia, and pitched his camp at Montclere, there to encounter Lewis Meliorat, nephew to Innocent VII., who was said to be coming with a great body of horse to help Pandulphus For they two were kindred by marriage, and Lewis did it in respect to his relation. So they joined battle, wherein Lewis was basely routed; and not long after Carmagnola reduced Brescia and made it subject to Philip, who also within a little while was master of Cremona, and put Cabrinus, the usurper, to death. Nicholas d'Este being moved at Philip's great success, went of his own accord and did what he might have been forced to; that is, he went to Milan and restored Parma (which he possessed himself of when Otho the Third died) to Philip, but kept Reggio, at the request of Pope Martin, as a fee. Thither also went John Francis, Prince of Mantua, to congratulate Philip's successes. But when he saw Philip look gruffly upon him, and understood that he designed to renew his claim to all that he held of the Cremonese and the Brescians, he went from Milan in haste, and entered into alliance with the Florentines and Venetians. For those two States were very timorous, and took pains to draw over whom they could to their party; because Philip, who loved dominion, had broken the league with them, and not only given Sarzana, upon the river Magra, to Thomas Fregoso (whom he had expelled from his principality, lest he should join with the banditti of Genoa against him), but also had incited the Bolognians, who were allies of the Florentines, to revolt, and, in order to it, hired their soldiers to fight under him; nay, he had got possession of Forli, under colour of the nonage of Theobald, or to gratify the Prince of Ferrara, whereas there was a proviso in the league that Philip should not meddle with Bologna and Romagna. They feared, likewise, lest all would be carried by the power of the three mighty princes; to wit, Philip, Pope Martin, and King Lewis,

whom they knew to be confederates. Whereas on the other side Philip laid all the fault upon the Venetians, because they had endeavoured to keep Pandulphus in the government of Brescia, and because the Florentines and Genoese had assisted some of his enemies with money and ammunition, and had bought Leghorn [1421] (which he had lately conquered) of the Genoese for a hundred thousand pounds. These deeds of discord might seem enough to raise a war at that time, but nothing did more set on the Venetians than the authority of Carmagnola, a person mightily famed for warlike discipline, as any of that age. This person could not endure (as he used to say himself) the insolence of Philip, and therefore came over to the Venetians, and, animating them to war, promised to assist them with his utmost. Whereupon these two states, assisted by the princes of Mantua and Ferrara, and going partners in the charge of the war, set out an army of twelve thousand horse and eight thousand foot, over whom Carmagnola was general And then setting upon Philip from every quarter at once, with boats upon the river as well as ships upon the sea, they were invited into the town by the Guelphs of Brescia, who were against Philip, and having seized some part of it, they reduced it all into their own power within seven months. Then Carmagnola led them to take the castles which belonged to Brescia, when Pope Martin, very much concerned for Philip's misfortune, sent the Cardinal of St Crosses to the Venetians to mediate between them and Philip. But that did not succeed, because the Venetians and Florentines made unreasonable demands, and so they began again mighty preparations for a war. They fought thrice in that year : first, at Cotolengo, a castle of Brescia ; the second time at the upper part of Cremona (in which two places they parted pretty equal, and neither had the better on it) ; and the third time at Maclodio, where Philip was defeated, and Charles Malatesta, the general, taken. This was so great an overthrow, that if Carmagnola would have kept the soldiers that he took, and have pursued them whilst they were in such a consternation, it had been no great pains to have turned Philip out of his principality. Charles (I told you) was taken in that battle, but was sent away safe by the Prince of Mantua, his kinsman ; but Carmagnola employing the army against the towns belonging to the Brescians, which had continued in their allegiance to Philip, he gave him time to breathe upon it. For

he not only made peace with Amadens, Duke of Savoy (who lay hard upon him), yielding him Vercelli; but he instigated the Emperor Sigismund and Brunorus Scala against the Venetians. But Pope Martin, seeing Philip in such dangerous circumstances, sent the Cardinal of St Crosses again to make peace between him and the Venetians; who, staying at Ferrara till the several ambassadors of the princes and cities came with instructions, made a peace upon these conditions: That the Venetians should keep Brescia and all the towns belonging to the Brescians or Cremonese which they had taken; that Philip should surrender Bergamo and all that appertained to it to the Venetians; and that he should not molest their allies, or those of the Florentines, or persuade any of them to revolt Martin approved of this peace, for fear Philip should be quite turned out of his duchy. For, as he could not be his friend (though he loved him well) upon the account of religion: so neither could he then especially, because at that time the Church treasury had been exhausted for several years by the war against Braccio. For when he went to Florence he found Braccio Montone, an excellent soldier, had so far got possession of Perugia, the duchy of Spoleto, and great part of the Church's patrimony (by help of the usurpers round about), that he could not get safe to Rome. But when Braccio, upon admonition, would not comply, the Pope used first of all spiritual weapons, that is, censures, against him, and interdicted all his adherents; nor were the priests allowed to do their office in the usual places. At which misfortune of their friend Braccio, the Florentines were concerned, and treated with Martin for peace, upon condition that Braccio should throw himself at the Pope's feet and ask pardon, which he did. And that he should restore some towns to the Church, and fight under the Pope till he had reduced Bologna, which was then in rebellion, and made it subject to Martin. In which war Gabriel Condelmer, cardinal priest of St Clements, and legate, was general, who, by his industry and Braccio's valour, subdued Bologna in a short time, and made it tributary to the Church [1420]. Whilst these things were transacted in Bologna, the four cardinals formerly of Peter Luna's party, the anti-Pope, came to Martin at Florence, where they were received most honourably by the whole consistory, and retained their former dignities. Three were cardinal deacons, but the fourth, who was formerly a canon

regular, was a cardinal priest. Balthasar Cossa being still a prisoner at Heidelberg, in Germany, under the Count Palatine, some citizens of Florence (of which Cosmus was one) were urgent with Pope Martin to set him at liberty. The Pope promised he would, but whilst his legate went thither to perform it, Balthasar, being impatient of staying any longer, gave the Count Palatine thirty thousand pounds to free him. And coming into Italy, he went directly toward Florence, but called upon Peter Rubeus, a baron of Parma, and an old friend of his, where he understood that there was wait laid for him. Thereupon he fled by night, along with the legate whom he met by the way, to Thomas Fregosos, another old friend of his, and gave people a suspicion that the schism would be renewed. For he was a man of great courage, and very cunning, nor could he endure a private life. Besides, there were not wanting such as would incite the bold man to innovations, they were generally at that time so much affected with novelties. But God Almighty took pity on His Church, and put Balthasar upon a resolution of going to Martin at Florence, without any articles of agreement or any caution between them [1419] When he came thither and had kissed the Pope's foot (to the admiration of all that saw it), he saluted him, in the presence and hearing of all the company, by the name of Christ's true vicar, and a true Pope canonically elected. This was strange to all that saw it, and brought to pass, it should seem, rather by God's providence than any human skill: that a man, covetous of dominion, and in such a high station before, should be so supple in a place where he might be free, because he was loved by all. But it made everybody cry for joy, especially those cardinals that had acknowledged him as the true Pope. But Martin, considering the vicissitude, or changeableness of human affairs, made him a cardinal in a few days, and then Bishop of Frascati; after which he showed him as much respect as any other cardinal, both in public and private. But Balthasar (some think) died of grief in a few months after at Florence (as being unable to endure a private life), and was buried most honourably in St John's Church, not far from the cathedral, at the great cost and charges of Cosmo di Medici, who grew so rich with Balthasar's money that he was looked upon as the chief man in Florence of a citizen, nay perhaps the richest in Italy, or the world. Upon his tomb were written these words: "*Bal-*

*desaris Cossæ, Johannis XXIII., quondam papæ corpus hoc tumulo conditum.*" During these actions at Florence the Emperor of Constantinople's agents came to the Pope, and promised that the Greeks would come over to the Latins in all points of faith upon reasonable terms. The Pope received them very kindly and splendidly, and made Peter Fontesiccus (a Spaniard, Cardinal of St Angelo, and a very learned man) legate *à latere*, to go to Constantinople and settle matters there. But before he sent the good man away he despatched Friar Anthony Massanus thither (who was general of the Minors) to find how the emperor and the Greeks were affected, and tell him what he might trust to. Now the Romans were urgent to have him come to Rome, and therefore taking his leave very kindly of the Florentines, he made their city a metropolis. For though before, even from its foundation almost, it had only had the honour of a bishopric, he made it an archbishopric, and the mother church to Volaterra, Pistoja, and Fiesola. He also gave a bigger altar to St Mary the New, belonging to the Order of Preachers, where he lived all the while he was at Florence, that convent being very commodious for his reception. At last, parting from Florence, he came to Rome, where all the people met him; and the nobility looked upon him as the good genius, or father of their country. And that day (Sept. 21, 1421) the Romans put in their calendar as a lucky one. When he came he found the city of Rome so ruinated that it looked nothing like a city. You might have seen the houses ready to totter, the churches fallen down, the streets empty, the city full of dirt and mire, and in extreme want of all sorts of provisions What should I say more? There was neither the face of a city nor any sign of civility there, the citizens seeming rather sojourners and vagabonds. The good Pope was troubled to see it, and applied himself to adorning of the city and reforming the citizens' manners, so that in a short time it looked much better than before. For this reason he was called by the people not only the true Pope, but father of his country. But lest that public joy should last too long without interruption, the year following, in November, on St Andrew's eve, the Tiber swelled so high that it came in at the Porta del Popolo, overflowed the whole city (which lies upon a level), and filled the church of St Mary the Pound as far as the great altar. Two days after it fell, but took much cattle along with it, and did great damage to the citizens, who sailed

about the streets as upon the Tiber. Now King Lewis, son to Lewis, came to Rome, and obtained of Martin to be invested King of Naples by general consent of the cardinals. For he having been invited thither and adopted by Queen Joan, sister to Ladislaus, expected by this means to get the kingdom without fighting, but was driven out of Naples by a contrary faction, and retired to Calabria. And now the time for the council drawing near (according to the decree at Constance), Martin was pleased, by consent of the cardinals, to send some bishops before to Pavia, to begin it: that seeming to be the most commodious place for it Thither, therefore, he immediately sent Peter Donatus, Archbishop of Candia, James Camplo, Bishop of Spoleto; Peter Rosatius, Abbot of Aquilegia; Friar Leonard, a Florentine, and General of the Preachers, to open the council [1423]. But they found nobody yet come from France or Germany, only two abbots of Burgundy, therefore they thought fit to defer it till one at least should be come from each nation, little of moment being to be transacted without universal consent. But while they waited their coming, on a sudden Pavia was visited so severely with a plague that, with the Pope's leave, the presidents of the council removed to Siena; whither people came from all nations more readily and in greater numbers than to Pavia. Alphonsus, King of Aragon (who was an enemy to Martin for giving the title of King of Naples and Sicily to Lewis, which himself desired), sent his ambassador to the council with order to delay it as much as he could, and to bring about the cause of the anti-Pope Peter Luna (yet alive in Panischola) either by promises or bribes to those who had greatest authority in the council. Wherefore Martin (who knew very well how great a calamity such a thing would bring upon the Church, and what danger there was in delays) commanded the council to be immediately dissolved, approving first of the decrees made in it that concerned matters of faith. And lest he might seem to fear a general council, he ordered that another should be held at Basle seven years after. Thus did that prudent, subtle man root out the seeds of schism and discord that were sown in the council of Siena. Alphonso then complained of Martin publicly, that by his means he was put by the kingdom which Joan designed for him, and Lewis was made heir in his room. Martin easily confuted this charge, and told him that Lewis was confirmed heir to Joan by Alexander V. and John XXIII. long before, and that all

the blame ought to be laid on the queen and not upon him, whose business it was to strengthen rather than weaken the Church's feudatories, unless they had committed some heinous offence against the see of Rome, and that he did not see why Lewis might not be lawful heir to Joan, who was crowned by his order. But when Braccio saw the Pope involved in so many affairs, and so distracted by reason of the quarrel between him and Alphonso, he got many of the church towns by force, and laid close siege to Aquila, a city in the kingdom of Naples. The Pope was angry at that, and raising a good sufficient army, he attempted to relieve Aquila, assisted by the army of the queen and Lewis, and not far from Aquila he conquered and killed Braccio in the open field. The Sforzians were in that battle, under the conduct of Francis, son to Sforza, who some years before going over the River Piscara (which the ancients called Aternus), was drowned. Braccio's body was brought to Rome, and buried in an unhallowed place without the Porta di Sancto Lorenzo. Upon this victory there was so great tranquillity (besides that Perugia, Todi, and Assisi, with some other towns which Braccio had possession of, were reduced to the Church), that they thought Augustus's happy days were come again into the world. Then people lived at ease, and could walk even in the night through the woods without any danger; no robbers being abroad, no ruffians and thieves; for he cut off Tartalia, Lauellus, and other usurpers, that got their living rather by rapine than war. But the heretics of Bohemia, who plagued the catholics of Germany continually with heresy and arms, seemed to interrupt this peace and happiness. To make them, therefore, submit to reason and to the Church, he admonished them first of all very gravely, and when that would not do, he sent legates into Germany to stir up the catholics to arms. And first he sent Henry, Cardinal of St Eusebius, thither alone, then Bartholomew of Piacenza; and last of all he recalled them, and sent Julian Cæsarinus, Cardinal of St Angelo, who received great damage from the enemy, not by his own fault, but by the cowardice of his soldiers. However, Martin was not discouraged at it, but made greater preparations against the heretics; only, before he set about such a grand affair, he resolved to compose and quiet Italy. For when the peace was made by Martin between Philip and the Venetians, the Florentines bore a grudge at Ladislaus, son to Paul Guinisius, Lord of Lucca, for the

assistance he gave Philip in the preceding war, and now he, not being mentioned in the articles of that peace, they laid hold on it as a fair opportunity to subdue the city, and having raised an army under Nicolas Fortebrachius, and taken some castles thereabout, they laid siege to it. Whereupon Philip, by the entreaty of Paul, and for fear lest, if Lucca fell into the hands of the Florentines, he should find them the sharper, as being the nearer, enemies, he first sent Francis Sforza into Parma with a great body of horse to raise foot soldiers there; who, passing the Apennine in the beginning of spring, put the Florentines into such a fright that, before he came into the Cloudy Vale (as the inhabitants call it), the enemies had removed their camp and raised their siege from before Lucca out of fear. And his coming was so much the more welcome to the Lucchese, because, when their enemies were subdued and the usurper taken, they thought to become absolute freemen by Francis' assistance. But the Florentines bribing Francis with fifty thousand pounds, he left the people of Lucca in a worse condition than ever; having promised for that sum not to serve Philip for six months. Then the Lucchese were besieged more close than before; whereupon Philip, at the request of Martin (who also pitied the case of the Lucchese), sent Nicolas Picenninus thither with a great body of horse presently, who vanquished and routed the enemy, and not only raised the siege, but marched thence, and took many castles belonging to Pisa and Volaterra by storm, and did the Sienese a kindness, who then made war upon the Florentines. Martin, being now undisturbed by any foreign foe, applied his mind to adorn the city and churches of Rome, and to that purpose repaired the portico of St Peter's which was falling down, and paved the Lateran Church with mosaic work, ceiled it anew, and began those paintings there which were done by the hand of the famous Gentilis. He likewise repaired the old palace that was ready to fall, near the Twelve Apostles, where he lived some years. The cardinals followed his example, and re-edified their churches as fast as they could, so that now Rome looked something like a city. He also created certain cardinals, of which his nephew, Prosper Colonna, Cardinal of St George, was one. In the meantime Peter Luna died at Panischola, but lest the Church should be at quiet, those two anti-cardinals that I told you of, were persuaded by Alphonso, who was Martin's enemy, to choose Giles Munio (a canon of

Barcelona and a nobleman) Pope, and called him Clement VIII. He was no sooner chosen but he made cardinals and acted as Pope. But when Martin and Alphonso were friends again, he sent Peter de Fuso, a cardinal, as legate from the see apostolic, thither, to whom Giles resigned his title to the popedom at the command of Alphonso. For which Martin was so kind to him afterward that he made him Bishop of Majorca. And the cardinals, also, that were made by Giles did voluntarily lay down their dignity. But those two that Peter Luna made, remained still obstinate, and therefore, because they would not obey the Pope, the legate put them in prison. Thus Martin's industry and prudence removed the schism from all parts; and when the Church was settled, he used as much skill and discretion in conferring of benefices; for he did not bestow them upon every one that asked him, but considered who was fittest to receive them and to take such a charge upon him. And if he did not know anybody in the country where benefices fell, he used to send and inquire of those that knew the place, who was qualified with learning, birth, or breeding fit for any office. And thus did he advance the Church and deserving men at the same time, to his great honour. In fine, so courageous and resolute he was, that, though he had two brothers, the elder of which (Jordanus, Prince of Salerno) died of the plague, and the other (Lorenzo) was burned to death in a turret which was casually set on fire, he was not known to say or do anything that argued impatience or lowness of mind. But this same person, so exactly good in the whole course of his life, died at Rome of an apoplexy in the fourteenth year and the third month of his pontificate, and the sixty-third year of his age; and was, by his own order, buried in St John's Church, near the heads of the apostles, in a brazen tomb, and attended by all the people of Rome and the clergy, weeping as if the Church of God and the city of Rome had been bereft of their only and their best parent. The see at that time was vacant twelve days.

## EUGENIUS IV

### 1431-1447.

EUGENIUS the Fourth, a Venetian, of the family of Condelmero (a common but ancient name), whose father's name was Angelo, arrived at the pontificate after this manner. When Gregory XII. was made Pope (who was of the family of Coraro, and a Venetian), Anthony Coraro, Gregory's nephew, a canon of St George's, in Alga, going to Rome, took Gabriel Condelmero, who was of the same profession, and had lived with him from his childhood, along with him, somewhat against his will. Gregory was so taken with his wit and parts, that he first made him his treasurer, and then Bishop of Siena, having made his nephew Anthony Bishop of Bologna. The Sienese refused Gabriel at first, and would not have him for their bishop; alleging that a foreigner ought not to be set over them in that high function, but one that knew the customs and usages of their city. But when Gregory afterward, upon a distrust of his condition, left Rome for Lucca, and increased the number of cardinals, he made Anthony, his nephew, and Gabriel Condelmero too, who was made use of by Gregory after that, and (when he was turned out) by Martin in many great affairs; especially in the embassy to the Marcha d'Ancona, in which he not only confirmed the inhabitants in their allegiance to the Church, by punishing some seditious conspirators, but also repaired the Church of St Agnes at Ancona, which was decayed, and the port of the same city, which was weather-beaten, very old, and ruinous, so as to make it like Trajan's. And afterward, when Martin understood that the Bolognians were set upon innovations, he sent Gabriel from Ancona thither, who suppressed the sedition as soon as he came. Where, coming to Rome, and Martin soon after dying, he alone was thought fit to be made Pope, out of eighteen cardinals, who at that time were in the conclave, and changing his name to Eugenius, was brought immediately to St Peter's, attended by all the people and clergy, in the year 1431, March 3rd. And having received the Papal crown he went to the Lateran, and from thence to the Vatican, where he set a day for a general consistory to be held. At which there was such a concourse of people, that the timber of the

building where they met (and where the public consistory now stands) gave way, and put the people into such a consternation that the Bishop of Simigaglia, a citizen of Rome, of the family of Mella, was trodden to death in the throng; for the Pope's house was not built at that time as it is now. When the consistory was dismissed, Eugenius took all care to avoid tumults, but some sycophants, persuading him that Martin, who was very covetous, had left somewhere a great treasure behind him, of which he might be informed by Martin's friends and relations, they made the man so mad, that he commanded Oddo Poccio, Martin's vice-chamberlain, to be laid hold on, and gave the charge of the business to Stephen Colonna, his general (the only person of his party among the Colonnas), Cardinal Orsini and Cardinal Comitum egging him on, by whose contrivance it is thought all these things were done against the Colonnas, out of an old grudge between the two factions. Eugenius, however, commanded that Oddo should be brought to him quietly and civilly, which was quite contrarily executed by Stephen; for not only his goods were plundered by the soldiers, but he was carried by force, or rather dragged like a robber publicly into the Pope's presence. Eugenius was very angry at this rude usage of him, and checked Stephen for it, nay, threatened to punish him severely for bringing not only Oddo, but the Bishop of Tivoli, who was formerly Martin's chamberlain, before him after such an unworthy manner. Hereupon Stephen, fearing the Pope's displeasure, fled to Palestrina, to Prince Colonna, and desired him to join with him to drive Eugenius from the city, because, he said, Eugenius had a design to extinguish the whole family of Colonna. And that he knew that to be so; for he was privy to it himself, and that he ran away from the city because he knew that he also must bear a part in that common calamity, unless they all avoided it together. The prince, moved with what he had said, and with the misfortunes of such as had been Martin's friends, took up arms and immediately resolved to set upon the Pope, staying only a little till his brother Prosper, a cardinal deacon, whom he had forewarned of the business, could get out of the city. And as soon as he saw him, he marched from Palestrina to Marino, and thence to Rome against Eugenius, and having the Gate di Sancto Sebastiano delivered up to him by John Baptista, he entered the town at first without doing any violence. But

when they were come as far as St Mark's, in the street called Colonna, the Pope's soldiers met them, assisted by a great number of people. They fought some time in the city very stoutly, and many were slain and taken on both sides. But the Colonnas seeing the people of Rome otherwise affected than they expected, they resolved to retreat out of the city, but as they went they plundered all things, drove away the cattle, and forced a great many men along with them. But the Pope's soldiers, mixed with the Romans, requited them for it, for they plundered and laid waste the houses of Prosper the cardinal, and all the Colonnas, together with all those that had been Martin's friends Being thus incensed on either side, they began to make use of treachery, as well as open force, to bring about their designs , for the Archbishop of Benevento, son to Anthony Colonna, was taken, and one Masius, a friar, who, being tortured, confessed that he intended to kill the governor of Castle St Angelo, and so taking it by surprise, to betray it to the Colonnas, who, being once masters of that, might drive the Pope and the Orsini out of Rome when they pleased. Masius was degraded from the priesthood, and quartered in Campo di Fiore, and his limbs hung up at the four chief gates of the city, nothing being said of the Archbishop of Benevento. But Eugenius, falling sick either of grief for these troubles, or of poison, as some said, he clapped up a peace with the Colonnas, by the mediation of Angelot Foscus, a Roman citizen, whom he not long after made cardinal at the same time with Francis Condelmero, his nephew. This peace he made public with as much speed as possible, because he understood that Sigismund was come into Italy, and designed for Rome, upon which he made his nephew Francis chamberlain ; and gave him some excellent persons for his assistance in the management of the Church patrimony. Whilst these things thus passed at Rome, the Florentines and Venetians having routed a fleet of Philip, Duke of Genoa, upon the coast of Genoa in a sea-fight, and having a Pope who was their countryman, took the confidence to invade Philip by land : but he sent for Nicolas Picenninus immediately out of Tuscany, and both beat the Venetian fleet at Cremona, and easily defeated Carmagnola, whom the Venetians beheaded a little after, having first (as they say themselves) convicted him by torture, letters produced and oral testimony, that it was through his treachery that they did

not take Cremona, when Cavalcabos had seized one gate of the city: and that the navy was vanquished before his face, when he might easily have hindered it with such a number of men as he had so near. But then the Florentines, fearing lest the emperor, now coming into Italy, should favour Philip, they despatched Nerius Capponius, a citizen of theirs, if possible, to persuade Eugenius, that the emperor's coming to the city, did threaten no less ruin to the see apostolic than to Florence: and that it was an easy matter to keep him from passing over Arno into Siena (which had molested the Florentines a long time) if he would command Nicolas Tollentinas, then in arms under the Pope, to join Michelett Cotignola, general of the Florentines, and oppose Sigismund at Arno, that he might not pass the river with his German horse. Eugenius was easily persuaded to it; and upon some debate about the charge of the war, Nerius took up the business and agreed that the Florentines should pay two thousand horse of Eugenius' raising as long as the war lasted. Then Nicolas Tollentinas at the Pope's command marched out of his winter quarters, and whilst he pillaged the Sienese, gave Sigismund opportunity to pass the river Arno (by the assistance of Anthony Pontadera, who was an excellent commander, and a bitter enemy of the Florentines), and thence passing through Volaterra in so peaceable a manner, that his army seemed rather friends than foes, he was received and made welcome wherever he came. The emperor having tarried six months at Siena, to the great cost of that city, and having in vain attempted to make peace with the Florentines, applying himself to Eugenius, he made a league with him, and then went to Rome; where he was kindly entertained by the people and the Pope, and received the imperial crown: and going from the Vatican, where he was crowned, into the Lateran, where he lodged, he knighted several Italians and Germans at Ponte di St Angelo, according to custom. And some say that Eugenius waited upon him so far, and then went back to St Peter's. After that, the emperor took leave of the Pope, and travelling through the Marcha d'Ancona, and Romagna, he arrived at Ferrara and Mantua; where, when he had stayed some days, he made John Francis, Lord of Mantua, a marquis, and married Barbara, the daughter of John, Marquis of Brandenburgh, to Lewis, son of John Francis. This match was thought an honour to the Gonzagan family, not

only because the lady was akin to the emperor, but because her father John was an imperial elector. At last the emperor departed out of Italy, leaving all things in confusion, but Nicolas d'Este, Marquis of Ferrara, was persuaded by Philip to go to Venice and exhort them to peace, and so he did, insomuch they were induced by the awe he had over them, and considering their great expenses, to send plenipotentiaries to Ferrara along with him, where by consent of Eugenius, April 1, 1433, a peace was concluded upon these conditions · to wit, that Philip should depart out of Geradada and deliver it up to the Marquis of Montserrat and Orlando Pallavicini, both whom he had turned out of their paternal inheritance, that all which had been taken from the Florentines, the Sienese, or those of Lucca should be returned to the owners; and that he should be looked upon as a common enemy, that did not restore what he had taken in thirty days. Thus having made a peace in all parts, they hoped for some rest, when on the sudden the whole shock of the war fell upon Eugenius. For Philip, who loved novelties, sent Francis Sforza with a great army into Romagna, pretending to march into Apulia (which Alphonso had invaded) to defend those towns which his father Sforza had possessed there. Who, marching through Ancona and Ombria with his army in good order, surprised and took them in a moment. And Philip, not content to do so, sent Nicolas Fortebraccio, a valiant and prudent commander, with chosen horse so suddenly against Eugenius, that he was possessed of the Ponte Molle and the Porta del Popolo, before it was known that any enemy approached This Nicolas had formerly fought under Eugenius, and by his commission had subdued the governor of Vetralla and Civita Vecchia, by the help of the Venetian galleys that attacked the castle off the sea. But when Nicolas afterward demanded his pay, Eugenius answered him, that he had taken as much spoil out of the castle, especially out of the town, as would satisfy him. At which Nicolas was so angry, that he went into the parts about Rome, and raised such tumults, taking and driving away such numbers of men and cattle, that Eugenius was some time at a stand what to do. The Romans flocked to him with their complaints; but the Pope, who at that time wanted both advice and health, sent them to Francis, the chamberlain, who, being devoted to idleness and pleasure, gave them no

other answer, but that they over-valued their cattle (for they often complained of the loss of them), and told them that the Venetians lived more like citizens than they, without beasts and flocks of cattle. The Romans were displeased at this answer, and therefore when Nicolas had taken Tivoli (beating Count Taglıacotius out of it) and Subiaco, and drawn all the Colonnas to his party (Stephen Colonna, who was always of the other side, being killed by the prince), they threw off the yoke of subjection, and crying out, "Arms, arms, liberty, liberty," they beat out all Eugenius' officers, and taking Francis the chamberlain prisoner, they created a new magistracy of their own choosing, consisting of seven Romans, whom they called governors, who had power of life and death. But Eugenius, in such a hurry not knowing what to do, resolved to flee for it. And immediately changing his habit for that of a monk, went on shipboard in a small vessel along with Arsenius, the monk, down the Tiber to Ostia. Whereupon certain Romans, that knew of his going, threw stones and shot arrows at him; for they would fain have kept him there till they had got possession of St Angelo. Nevertheless Eugenius went away upon the 7th of July, and sailed to Pisa first, and then to Florence in galleys laid on purpose for his passage; and then the Romans betook themselves to storm the castle, raising mounds and bulwarks in all places, that might make it more accessible to the enemy. On the other side, those of the castle made some sallies upon them, and the governor thinking it fit to use some stratagem with the people of Rome, he (by the assistance and advice of Balthasar Aufido, a cunning captain that defended the lower part of the castle) bade one of his soldiers that sallied out, that he should suffer himself to be taken by the enemy, and then blame the cruelty and covetousness of him the governor, and promise them that if they would give him such a reward he would kill the governor and betray the castle. The soldier did exactly as he was bid; and when he was taken, said all the ill things he could devise against Anthony Ridio (the governor), and swore he would bring the matter about to their mind. Thereupon, being dismissed, he went into the castle and hung up Anthony's clothes, with somewhat like his head on top of them, which was visible a great way off. Balthasar presently cried out, the wicked fellow was justly punished, and that some of the chief Roman commanders might now come in,

and, if they paid the reward, take the castle. They, not being aware of the trick, went in, and were straight taken. Immediately there was a joyful noise in the castle, and darts and bullets were thrown and shot upon the Romans without. The Romans being thus deluded, advised concerning the interchange of their captives, and in order to it, set the chamberlain, Eugenius's nephew, at liberty, and unanimously submitted to Eugenius within five months after they thought to have gained their freedom. Then there were magistrates made in the name of the Church, who fortified the Capitol with strong guards and other provisions. And after, upon the arrival of John Vitelleschi (whom they called the Patriarch), Francis, his nephew, being gone to Eugenius, a sudden dread seized the Romans to such a degree that they durst not so much as open their mouths for fear. For Vitelleschi was an imperious and cruel man, and lived like a tyrant rather than a Christian. These things were transacted at Rome whilst Alphonso besieged Naples and Gaeta, which was stoutly defended by the Genoese merchants, and the Genoese, thinking it their duty to assist their countrymen, fitted out a navy with all speed by the leave and good liking of Duke Philip Visconti, who lent them some foot-soldiers; and meeting their enemy Alphonso not far from Gaeta they engaged with him. After a long and a sharp conflict they defeated Alphonso and took him prisoner, and all his retinue, of which some were princes. Alphonso was brought to Milan to Philip, but was entertained not as a captive, or an enemy of the Genoese, but as a king and a friend. And when he had been treated honourably for some days, and presented by Philip with many great gifts, he went into his kingdom and took Gaeta presently Upon that, the Genoese were so enraged that he should free Alphonso so easily, whom they had taken with such hazard, that by the advice of Thomas Fregoso they revolted from Philip, and made the said Thomas their duke. Then Piccininus, who was sent against the Genoese, receiving news that they persisted in their obstinacy, took Sarzana, and marching toward Pisa under pretence to go and help Alphonso, spoiled many castles belonging to the Pisans But the Florentines stopped his career by sending for Francis Sforza with the Pope's good liking, who was then in possession of Ancona, and endeavoured, by the assistance of the Florentines and Venetians, to be made lord of it. But Eugenius was against

that, and said that it became a Pope to preserve the Church patrimony even by war rather than alienate it. So they deferred that business till another opportunity, yet Francis, in hopes of it, did not only beat Piccinnino from the siege of Barga, taking Lewis Gonzaga, who fought under Piccinnino, but he laid close siege to Lucca in the name of the Florentines. Piccinnino was hindered from passing the Apennine to their relief, and therefore promised to free them another way. Wherefore he marched through Bologna without any molestation (only taking a town belonging to the Florentines called Oriolo), and being mindful of the Lucchese, he went thither, and in the absence of Francis Sforza vanquished the Florentines and raised the siege of Lucca. The Pope being almost distracted with care as well because he was surrounded with war, as that the Council of Basle, begun by the decree of Pope Martin, increased daily by the conflux of all the princes of Spain, France, Germany, and Hungary, who referred the case of all Christendom to that council, he contrived how to dissolve it, and to that purpose, would have removed it from Basle to Bologna by general consent of the cardinals that were there on his side. But the emperor, other princes and prelates, then at Basle, did not only disobey the Pope but admonished him several times to come himself with his cardinals to Basle, which was a convenient place that Martin had chosen to hold the council in, or else they threatened to oppose him as a prevaricating and an obstinate person. Eugenius was moved at their words and confirmed the council at Basle by a new brief, giving everyone leave to go thither; for he was so tormented with wars on all sides of him that he had hardly time to breathe. But having recovered Rome, he sent John Vitelleschi thither immediately, who was a man indeed very fit for business, but savage and severe, who marching against the Colonnas, the Sabelli, and all the Gibelline faction, he sacked and razed the castle of Gandulpho standing on the Lago Albano, as also Savello and Borgeto. He likewise took Alba, Civita Lapuvina, Palestrina, and Zagatolo, and sent all the inhabitants that were alive to Rome. Then turning his course into Campagna di Roma, he brought them all over to the Church, and having taken Anthony Pontadera, he hanged him upon an olive tree at Fraselone. Then coming back to Rome he put them all in a fear, and pulled down several houses of conspirators that had taken possession of the Porta

Maggiore in a tumult, and declared them enemies to the Church. Among the rest he took one Pulcellus, and tortured him with red hot pincers, and then hanged him in Campo Fiore. When the Roman people complained that the covetousness of some rich men had brought a famine upon the country, there was so much wheat immediately brought into the market by his order, that there ensued great plenty of all things in a short time; so readily were his commands obeyed. When he had thus settled affairs, he went into the kingdom of Naples, which Alphonso had lately got possession of, and which he said belonged to the Pope and the Church, and there he took the Prince of Tarento with two thousand horse and invaded the dominion of the Earl of Nola. He also had like to have taken Alphonso by fraud rather than force, when they had made a truce, and a peace was as good as concluded. When he had taken the towns belonging to the Church, he freed the prince. And going back to Rome he demolished Palestrina, which was ready to rebel, by the persuasion of Lorenza Colonna, and turned out the inhabitants in great numbers to roam about the country in the year 1435. In which year Eugenius went from Florence (having first consecrated the cathedral church there), and going to Bologna he built a fort near that gate which leads towards Ferrara, and fortified the house where the legate now resides, with a good high and broad wall, behind especially, and with turrets. The year after he, in a public consistory, translated the Council of Basle (though he had approved of that place) from thence to Ferrara, and said that the Greeks who had a mind to join with the Church of Rome had chosen that city to meet in. Then the presidents of the council at Basle were very urgent with the Greeks, and did exhort them with prayers and promises, that they would leave Eugenius and come to them. Nor were they content to do so only, but they bragged that they would depose Eugenius too if he would not come thither also Eugenius could not tell for some time what to do, but yet he sent thither as legate one John Francis Capitelista, a lawyer, and a knight of Padua, to plead his cause. But when Sigismund, the emperor, was dead, by whose favour the Council of Basle flourished, and Albert, Duke of Austria, was chosen in his room, the Cardinal of St Crosses began the Council of Ferraia in the name of Eugenius. Eugenius also went thither when he heard the Emperor of

Constantinople, whose name was John Palæologus, was coming with a great many galleys of his own, as well as what the Venetians, for Eugenius's sake, sent to meet the Emperor lest any violence should have been offered him: because he had an account that certain French galleys were sent by the council into the Archipelago with orders either to bring the emperor to them, or if they could not do so, that, at least, they should keep him from going to Ferrara. But Eugenius so far corrupted the admiral of those galleys with money that he left the council at Basle and came over to his party. When the emperor came to Ferrara he was entertained by Eugenius as the Roman Emperors used to be treated. But Vitelleschi, when he had quieted the Church dominions, and punished several priests that had pilfered certain jewels out of the heads of Peter and Paul, the apostles, in the Lateran church, to which they belonged, and after that had put James Galesius and his accomplices to death for attempting to make innovations upon the government, he went to Ferrara, where in a public consistory he was received into the number of cardinals with great honour For he had been made cardinal six months before at Bologna; and then returning with greater authority, he put the Governor of Vitralla and the Lord of Fuligno (after he had expelled him from his usurped dominion) to death in the castle of Surio. But Eugenius desiring to unite the two churches that were so long of different opinions, in the year 1438, having made solemn prayers and celebrated the mass of the Holy Ghost, he went to the council along with the Emperor and Patriarch of Constantinople, where the Emperor, being seated on a throne suitable to his dignity, and the other Greeks in a place opposite to the Pope, the question was first asked, Whether the Latins and the Greeks, who had been so long of different opinions, were willing to be united into one Church? At which they all cried out, they would very willingly, provided that their differences were first reconciled by reason. In order to which there were disputations every day between those that the Latins and Greeks had chosen to debate those weighty points. But there happening a plague at Ferrara, which continued a good while, it was not safe staying there, and, therefore, the Council was removed to Florence. And as soon as they came thither, Picenninus presently took possession of Forli, Imola, Ravenna, and Bologna, by command from Philip, with a design to thwart

Eugenius's intentions, who was a friend to the Florentines and Venetians, his enemies. After that he came back into Parma, and raising a great body of horse he passed the Po, and took (in a short time) the greater Casal and Platina, my native country, and all that the Venetians had about Cremona Then he routed Gattamelata, general of the Venetian army at Calvatona, and with the Prince of Mantua his ally, he besieged Brescia for some months, which was stoutly defended by the citizens and one Francis Barbar, a very learned man, and their chief magistrate. Whereupon he passed from thence to seize several castles thereabout and hinder provisions from being brought into the city, plundering and destroying all the country as far as Verona and Vincenza, so that he left the Venetians nothing to live upon; but yet all this was not accomplished without great damage to his men, especially in the dead of winter, which was the time they took to do it. He likewise secured great part of the rivers Menzo, Adige, Lago di Garda, and Lago d'Iseo, that nothing might be carried that way by water to the needy inhabitants. But the fitting up of some ships that were removed out of the Adige into the Lago di St Andreas, and careened below in the Lago di Garda, near Farboli, gave the Venetians some respite. Then seeing, nevertheless, that Picenninus pressed those of Verona and Vincenza very hard, the Venetians thought themselves quite lost if they did not get a good commander, and therefore they sent James Donatus to Florence, then in league with them, to desire that if the Florentines had regard to the Republic of Venice, or the safety and liberty of Italy in general, that they would send Francis Sforza immediately with all his forces to Venice, now almost ruined by the arms of Philip and the Mantuan. The Florentines being concerned for their own danger as well as that of their allies, persuade Francis to take up arms for the Venetians, and promised him in the name of the city to defend all the towns that he had which belonged to the Church of Rome, which was his greatest desire. They also got letters apostolical from Eugenius with much ado, to declare Francis Marquis and Lord of Ancona; but with these words, "Let him take it, and the devil give him luck with it." Francis going with his cavalry along the coast of the Adriatic Sea fell into Ferrara, and passing the Po in boats, and having augmented his army in Padua (for he is said to have had twelve thousand horse and five thousand foot), he met the

enemy first at Suave, near Verona, where they fought very smartly for some time, and neither had the better on it Afterwards Picenninus, by reason of his indisposition and want of men, gave way to his power, and then Francis having recovered all the castles from them of Vincenza and Verona, he was about to raise the siege from before Brescia, but seeing all other avenues stopped, he passed the Adige, and marching into the parts about Trent, he went to Archo, a town he had a mind to take, because the Earl of Archo was an ally of Philip Picenninus also came thither to assist the Earl, but fighting more eagerly than cautiously (as he used to do), he was deserted by the rest of the army, and receiving great damage was fain to fly into the neighbouring valleys, where he had been taken by the enemy, if Charles Gonzaga, son to John Francis, had not come between him and them, and so saved him from that imminent danger; and yet, for all that, he was taken afterward, the foe gathering strength, and carried prisoner to Verona. There are that write how Picenninus was so weakened in one side with wounds which he received in the several battles, that he was not able to ride back to his army, but was wrapped in a sack as if he had been dead, and so carried upon a lusty fellow's shoulders even through the enemy's camp. Whilst these things were transacted in Venice, Philip, taking it ill that the Florentines, by the help and persuasion of Eugenius, had sent Francis Sforza to aid the Venetians, he treated with those that were at the Council of Basle to cite Eugenius before them, which they did twice or thrice. But when it did not answer his expectation, he so far infatuated them as that they deposed Eugenius and chose Amadeus, Duke of Savoy (his father-in-law, who lived like a hermit at Ripaglia with some other noblemen), Pope, and called him Felix. Hence arose great seditions in the Church of God, for Christendom was divided into three parts, and some followed Eugenius, some Felix, and the rest were neuters. For all that, Eugenius was not dejected, but held frequent assemblies and disputations between the Greeks and Latins, till at last it came to this result, that the Greeks were convinced that the Holy Ghost did proceed from the Father and the Son, and that he was *homousios*, that is, of the same substance, and did not come forth from the Father only, as they formerly believed; and that they ought to consecrate the body of Christ with unleavened bread,

made of wheat, and to believe a purgatory. Lastly, that the Pope of Rome was Christ's true vicar and the lawful successor of Saint Peter, to whom all the Eastern as well as Western Churches ought to submit, as being the universal patriarch. The business thus settled, the Greeks went away; and then the Armenians also agreed with us in faith, their errors being confuted, and Eugenius's letters to that purpose promulgated, to show the reason why they accorded, with this inscription: "Given at the Holy General Council, held at Florence, in the Cathedral there, November 22, 1439." When that was done, he contrived how to strengthen himself and at the same time weaken the Council of Basle, and that was by making eighteen cardinals at once in the public consistory: of which number two were Greeks, to wit, Rutenus and Nicenus; that the Greeks might be kept in the faith by their example and authority: and yet that nation fell back in a little time to its old state. Others were Peter Barbo, his sister's son, and Alouisius Patavinus, whom he afterwards made Patriarch of Aquilegia and Chamberlain, having advanced Francis Condelmerius to the vice-chancellorship. Whilst these things were acted near Trent, and people thought that Picenninus and the Prince of Mantua would yield at last, having received such damage, they removed thence with all speed to Verona and took it, by the help of ladders, wherewith they scaled the walls and entered in at the citadel unknown to any of the sentinels, who, to avoid the extreme cold of the north wind (which that night was very boisterous), had quitted their posts and were got into the tents. But Francis Sforza, when he heard that Verona was taken by the enemy, marched thither presently with all his army to recover it, knowing that the Venetians had still possession of the old castle and the fort of St Felix in the Mount. And, therefore, he entered the city that way with his army, and ran upon the enemy with a mighty shout. Philip's men met him with a few horse (for all his forces were not yet come up), and they fought very sharply in that part of the city which they call the island. At last the few were fain to yield to the many, and Picenninus and the Mantuans betook themselves to the new bridge (as they call it), where for some time they bore the shock of their enemies. There, as the horse were engaging, and a great many crowded in a little room, the drawbridge broke with the weight of men and horses, and almost all that fell into the river were drowned,

because they were tired with fasting so long, and sunk by the very weight of their arms. Thereupon Francis, flying to a bridge of boats, put over his men and drove Picenninus and the Mantuan (who distrusted the citizens' fidelity) quite out of the city within four days after he had taken it. Then Philip, that he might draw Francis from the Venetians by infesting the Florentines, who had given him the same pay as the Venetians did, sent Picenninus into Tuscany with six thousand horse in the midst of winter. The Florentines seeing that, sent presently for Piergianpaulo, an excellent commander, and desired Eugenius that he would assist them, according to the league by which he was bound to defend Tuscany, and so were resolved to meet Picenninus. But when they found that John Vitelleschi had conspired with Philip, though he were at that time legate and general of the Church forces, and that he would not prove a friend (as he pretended) when he came into Tuscany, but an enemy in the head of six thousand horse, and would fight against the Florentines on Picenninus's side, the magistrates of Florence contrived, by real or feigned letters (no matter which) from Eugenius, to have him killed by Anthony Ridius, the governor of Castle St Angelo, just as his men were passing the bridge. And so he was, for he could not be aided by those that were gone over the bridge, and therefore was, as it were, alone, because he brought up the rear. The Count Aversus, who fought under the patriarch, having lost his general, conveyed his carriages along with his own to Roncillione. But the Florentines, being freed from so great a terror, deal cunningly with Eugenius, to let Lewis of Padua, who succeeded Vitelleschi, muster up all the Church forces and come to their assistance. This Lewis was a politic man, and it was supposed that by his means Vitelleschi was taken off. But Picenninus, marching down into the Vale of Mugello, killed and plundered all before him as far as Fiesole. Then, turning toward Castentino, he, by the assistance of Count Popio, made many towns revolt. Thence going to Perugia, he went quietly into the city, and sent the legate, who was then governor there, to the Pope Eugenius upon a certain message. And in the meantime he took the treasurer and altered the whole state of the city. For he chose ten citizens, who had power of life and death over all the rest. But the Perugians, fearing lest he should set up a tyranny upon them, they bargained

with him to depart the city for fifty thousand pounds. He did so and went to Cortona, hoping to take that place by treachery, but the plot was discovered and the conspirators either killed or banished, upon which he marched to Citta di Castello. The Florentines also moved to Aughiera, a town in their dominions, to help their countrymen if Picenninus should offer them any violence. These things passed in Tuscany, whilst Francis Sforza conquered Philip's navy at the Lago di Garda (of which Italiano Furlano was admiral), and not only raised the siege from before Brescia and Bergamo, but the same summer vanquished Philip's army at Soncino, having taken one thousand five hundred horse, and in a short time took and subdued all the castles of Brescia, part of Cremona, and Mantua, with all Gerradadua, and made them tributary to the Venetians. At that time the Prince of Mantua lost Asolo, Lonato, and Pescheria, three towns of a good bigness, without opposition, for when Picenninus was absent he never durst engage with an enemy in the open field. But Picenninus, hearing how the state of affairs was altered in Venice, and being sent for by many messengers and letters, as well from Philip as the Prince of Mantua, as also being tired out with the importunities of the soldiers, who were most of them natives of that part of Italy which is near the Alps, he removed his camp from Cita di Castello to Borgi di Sancto Sepolcro, a town in his territories, which lies over against Angliera: with design either by compulsion or stratagem, to fight the Florentines and the Pope's army, that lay (as I told you) near Angliera. On the 29th of June (St Peter and St Paul's day), Picenninus set his army in array, which took up a plain of four thousand paces, but was unfortunately forced to choose a disadvantageous place to fight in (because he understood that the common soldiers of the enemy were gone a foraging, and was not willing to lose the opportunity. For he was to go up the side of a hill, and so his enemies upon the higher ground easily kept him off Yet they fought five hours very smartly, till at last, Picenninus, what with the multitude of his enemies and the folly of his son Francis, who had forsaken his post, was overcome, and retreated to Borgo with great damage and the loss of his ensigns. And the next day, leaving Borgo in the hands of the townsmen and some few of his soldiers that survived the battle, he went back through Romagna to Philip. The townsmen of Borgo, fearing they

might be hardly dealt withal, because they had revolted from the Pope, employed agents to get their pardon, and surrendered themselves to the legate without loss of limbs or goods. That victory was very welcome both to Eugenius and the Florentines; and they say Aloisius Patavinus was made a cardinal for that reason. The same summer the Florentines beat Count Poppio, who was Picenninus's ally, out of Tuscany. But Philip, who was environed with so many enemies, sought out for foreign aid, and entreated Alphonso, who had got possession of the kingdom of Naples, to storm all the towns which the Sforzians had in that kingdom, to draw Francis Sforza from the Venetians. Alphonso complied with his request, but never could recall Francis from the war that he was engaged in. For he, when a sufficient quantity of forage came in, marched from Pescheria to Brescia with fifteen thousand horse and six thousand foot, and met Picenninus at Cignano, with a design to fight him Picenninus was as willing to fight as he, and though he had a less number of men, yet they were stout fellows, and he relied upon their valour. They fought briskly for some time and parted upon equal terms. Francis, thinking he had gotten honour enough in the wars, for that he had challenged his enemy into the field, led his army round the country, and retook several towns which Picenninus had taken that winter, and made them subject to the Venetians. From thence he went to Martinengo, which Picenninus had fortified with a strong garrison, and besieged it. But when Picenninus had augmented his army by the arrival of Francis his son and the Prince of Mantua, he went thither and pitched his camp a mile off the enemy, provoking him by skirmishes to come and decide the matter in a set battle, but he not now desiring to fight the enemy in the field, grew wholly intent upon taking the town. Picenninus therefore removed his camp every day so much nearer the enemy, and put Francis in such dangerous circumstances, that neither his soldiers could forage, nor any provisions be sent in, nor the army march out from the place, without apparent danger, and just then beyond all hopes there was a peace declared, which had been in agitation between Philip and Francis, by the mediation of one Eusebiolus, surnamed Chain, without Picenninus's knowledge. When Picenninus heard of it, he exclaimed at heaven and earth and Philip's inconstancy, who with a certain victory before him desired peace like a conquered person. The armies

departing, the peace was declared at Capriana, in the year 1442, upon these terms that Francis should marry Blanch, the daughter of Philip, and have with her, as a dowry, Pontremoli and Cremona, with all the country belonging to it, except Picigitono and the castles which the Mantuan and Pallavicini possessed; and that all those places that Philip and his allies had taken, as also the Venetians and their confederates (except Asola, Lonato, and Pescheria, which were the Prince of Mantua's before that war), should be restored: and he that would not accept of these articles should be looked upon as a common enemy. Eugenius liked not this peace, because Francis had neglected him whilst he talked of restoring what was lost, without mentioning Bologna, which Picenninus had possession of; wherefore he resolved to go from Florence to Rome, and there advise concerning the recovery of the Church patrimony, because that was a place where he might take more freedom. But that he might find all things quiet, he sent Alouisius Patavinus, Cardinal of St Laurence, before, to put out the seculars and restore the canons regular to the Lateran, who had been expelled by the secular priests, upon a controversy that was between them, who should carry the body of Christ upon *Corpus Christi* day in procession. Gino Albanese, an excellent soldier, was put to death because he would have broken the peace between Eugenius and Alphonso. Palus Lamolara, also a stout man, of whose parts he was jealous, was also put to death. And when things were settled in this manner, Eugenius came to Rome, September 28, 1443 (though the Florentines did all they could to keep him there), being met by all the city with all the veneration imaginable, and lay that night at the Porta del Popola. And the next day, as he was going to St Peter's to prayers, as the custom is, he walked in his pontifical robes through the city, and heard the people were in a mutiny, for that the taxes were doubled, and a new impost laid upon wine. Thereupon he commanded silence, and in the presence of them all abolished that exaction as tyrannical · at which they immediately cried out, "Long live Eugenius," whereas before they had cried, "Down with these new gabels, the inventors of them." After nineteen days he went to the Lateran, and declared he would hold a general council there, and sent letters and messengers to acquaint the several princes with his design. For he had a mind to weaken and destroy the Council

of Basle by this means When things were thus composed at Rome, he remembered the injuries he had received, and sent Picenninus, the general, against the Anconese (whom Francis had subdued), who, going from Bologna toward Perugia, made those of Tiferno, who were allies of the Florentines, revolt, to gratify Eugenius, who was angry with the Florentines for supplying Francis with money to oppose him and keep Ancona. Alphonso, too, who the year before had long besieged Naples, and at last through a common-shore got into the town and taken it, beating out the René of Anjou, was so far taken with the fame and courage of Picenninus, that he not only chose him general of his army, but, to honour him the more, adopted him into the family of Aragon, who, as soon as he had received money of Eugenius and Alphonso to defray the war, went into Ancona and reduced many towns to the Church, which Francis Sforza, who was come thither with a good army from Cremona, vainly strove to defend About that time John Francis Gonzaga died, and the Venetians and Florentines, who were concerned for the time to come, made Lewis Gonzaga, son and heir to John Francis, their stipendiary, that he, if occasion were, might oppose Philip. In the meantime things were pretty quiet in those parts of Italy that lie next the Alps, when Hannibal Bentivoglio, who was kept prisoner some time in the castle of Pelegrini, by command from Picenninus, for suspicion of conspiracy, escaped, and went back to Bologna, where he excited the people to liberty and seized Francis Picenninus, governor of the city, and all his men. Which done, he recalled all the exiles, whether of his own or the contrary faction, especially one Baptista Canedolus by name; after which the Bolognians sent ambassadors to the Venetians and Florentines, to desire their alliance. Which the ambassadors having obtained, they returned home, and presently took the castle (which was yet in the enemy's hands) by the help of those recruits that were sent them from their friends, and as soon as they had taken, destroyed it, chasing Alouisius Vermes out of Bologna. Then Philip, taking it ill that the Bolognians should be in league with the Venetians and Florentines, hired some friends of Baptista, promising them assistance to take Hannibal off, that themselves and their faction might be sole governors in the city. And Canedolus, who was ready at roguery, prevailed with a certain man of Bologna (who had a son accidentally then newly born) to

choose Hannibal godfather: and the next day the child was carried to be christened, which, being over, the father of the child invited Hannibal to St John's Church, because it was St John's day. Hannibal complied with the traitor in that too, not thinking of any design; but in the way thither he was set upon by a company of the conspirators that got about him, and was slain, though two servants that he had, who loved him, did what they could to defend him. But the people of Bologna, when they knew it, were so concerned for the indignity, that they presently took up arms and killed all the chief of the Canedolian faction, particularly Baptista, whose body they dragged through the city and buried it very ignominiously. At the same time, also, there happened a great piece of villany to be acted at Rome: for Angellottus, Cardinal of St Mark's, was deprived of his life and all the money that he had so covetously gathered and scraped together, by his own *valet de chambre*. The villain was taken and tortured to death, and then, being cut into four parts, was hanged upon the four gates of the city. But the Venetians and Florentines fearing lest Bologna, which was very commodiously seated for both of them in time of war, should fall into Philip's hands, sent immediately some troops thither to assist them. The Venetians were not out in their guess: for Philip designed to send Picenninus thither with an army, at the request of the exiles, if he had not died before he could set out. They say he died for grief, that his son Francis, whom he had left behind him in Ancona, when Cardinal Firmanus was legate, was vanquished by Francis Sforza. But the year after, Philip took courage and advised Eugenius to endeavour the recovery of Bologna, promising to supply him with men, and bear his share in the charge of the war. By which the Pope was so wrought upon, that he made a league with Alphonso, and sent Sigismund Malatesta with a great body of horse into Ancona against Francis; that when the Florentines were otherwise employed, Bologna might be forced to surrender. Now Philip had sent William Montserrat and Charles Gonzaga before with a great army, who, entering the territory of Bologna in a hostile manner, plundered all before them. But the Florentines, who were concerned for the danger of their allies, despatched Astorgius Faventinus with one thousand five hundred horse and two hundred foot to aid the Bolognians till farther order from them and the Venetians. Things stood thus in

Romagna, when Philip, on the sudden, sent for Francis Picenninus from Ancona, and gave him order to go with a great army upon May day, against the Cremonese, who apprehended no such thing. He went as he was commanded, and took a great many of the country fellows, and struck such terror into the citizens by battering their walls both night and day, that he had very near taken the city. But the Venetians and Florentines were troubled at the danger which Francis and their friends were in, and resolved to defend Cremona and Bologna at the same time, and sent Tibertus Brandolinus, a very active commander, who, taking along with him the Bolognese and the auxiliaries from Florence, marched toward the enemy (who did not well agree among themselves, and were encamped at a town called St John's), and when he had brought William Montserrat over to the Bolognians by promises and presents, and easily routed Charles, he quickly retrieved all the towns which the enemy had in their hands. Bologna being thus quieted, and the auxiliaries of Florence and Venice divided, by order, into two parts, the one half were sent to avoid Francis Sforza, whom Eugenius and Alphonso had beaten as far as the walls of Urbino, and the other half to the Cremonese, who were hard put to it by Francis Picenninus. The Venetians, resolving upon an open war with Philip, sent ambassadors to him to denounce war unless he would desist from the siege of Cremona. But they were answered by a messenger (for they could not speak with Philip himself) that they might be safer anywhere than at Milan. At which the Venetians were very angry, and commanded Michelot Cotignola, their general, who was then at Brescia, to march forthwith into Cremona (which Philip had got most part of), and engage the enemy wherever he met them He readily obeyed their commands, and, passing the river Oglio at Casale with all expedition, found the enemy encamped upon the Po, in an island, which, having forded, he attacked them in their camp, and soon routed them, taking a great part of their cavalry. After that he recovered all the towns, and freed Cremona from the siege; and having augmented his army by Lewis Gonzaga's additional forces (who had reduced Platina and some castles in Cremona to the Venetians), they marched toward Geradada, and left nothing for Philip but Crema. Then crossing the river they entered Milan, filling all places with fire and rapine. And

when they had taken Monte di Briausa and Brevio, where there is a bridge over the Adda, they attacked Lecco, which those within stoutly defended, and battered their ships so severely that whole men might have got in at the sides of them; so that having lost many men, and being in great want of forage, they were fain to depart without accomplishing their design, for fear of Francis Sforza, who they heard was privately gone over to Philip's party. Meantime Aloisius Patavinus, the Pope's legate, general of the forces which went against Francis Sforza into Ancona, hearing that Italiano and James Gatuano (who had fought partly under Philip and partly under Eugenius) were revolting to Francis, he commanded them to be taken before they could arrive there, and put to death, for both of them had one thousand five hundred horse under them. Francis Sforza was much concerned at that, and finding himself not able to sustain the shock of his enemies any longer, being set upon by so many at a time, and assisted by nobody, by the persuasions of Eugenius and Alphonso, who envied the Venetians' success, he left Ancona, and went into Philip's army, over which he was made general. Eugenius now, lest he should seem to mind nothing but war, made Nicolas Tolentinas, of the Order of St Austin, who was famous for miracles, a saint, and went personally in procession from St Peter to St Austin's, attended by all the clergy, the Roman people, and the cardinals. After that he expelled the canons secular from the Lateran, and admitted only the regulars. He also built the portico that goes from that church to the Sancta Sanctorum, and repaired the cloister for the priests to live in. He also augmented the painting of the church which Martin had formerly begun; and carried the mitre of St Sylvester, which was brought to Rome from Avignon, in his own hands from the Vatican to the Lateran with great veneration of all the priests and people of Rome. Afterward King Alphonso came to Tivoli, and would have treated with Eugenius about the management of the war, but he heard he was sick, and so staid for some time there. Eugenius had a great mind to have plagued the Florentines for helping his enemies; and doubted not but, if he attacked them with his own, the king's, and Philip's forces all together, he might bring that city to what he pleased. But all his designs were frustrated by his death, for he died in the sixteenth year of his pontificate, February 23, 1447. He was a man of great inconstancy; at

the beginning of his reign he was led away by ill counsels, and disturbed all things to that degree that he incited the Roman people to war, and gave authority to the Council of Basle (which was the original of much mischief) by approving of their decrees in letters apostolical. But in process of time when he came to himself, he acted very prudently and with good resolution. He had a very venerable aspect; but was rather grave than eloquent in his speech; an indifferent scholar, though a knowing man, especially in history. He was bountiful to all, more especially learned men, whose company he loved, for he admitted Leonard Aretinus, Charles Poggius, Aurispa Trapezuntius, and Blondus, very learned men, to be his secretaries. He was not easily provoked to anger for injuries done him, or by the calumnies, jibes, or scoffs of any. He was a great patron of all schools, especially that at Rome, where he had all kind of learning taught. He loved the religious wonderfully, and gave them many privileges, besides revenues which he added to their foundations. But he loved war so much (which a man would admire in a Pope) that besides what I have told you of his actions in Italy, he instigated the Dauphin, son to Charles, the French king (having first made peace between that king and the Duke of Burgundy), to go with a great body of horse against those of Basle. He did so, and routed the assembly And afterward he sent Ladislaus, King of Poland, along with Julian Cæsarinus, against the Turks, of whom thirty thousand were slain in one battle between Adrianople and the Danube, though the king indeed himself, and the cardinal too, were killed at the same time. He was accounted very strict to his word, unless when he had promised a thing which it were better revoke than perform. He kept a very good house, and yet lived on a spare diet himself, and was so great a stranger to wine, that he was properly called the abstemious. He had but very few familiar friends, but they were all learned men, whose counsel he made use of in great matters, and used to admit into his chamber at supper time, to be as witnesses of his sober conversation. And then he would ask them what news in the city, what people thought of his government since he had been Pope, that he might correct any error, if aught were amiss either in his own person or anybody else. He endeavoured to adorn the Church with buildings and chapels, as appears by the Pope's Chapel and the brazen door of St

Peter's Church. But he died (as I told you) after he had done many great actions, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and was buried in St Peter's Church, under a marble tomb, upon which there are these verses:—

"Eugenius *jacet hic Quartus, Cor nobile cujus*
*Testantur vitæ splendida facta suæ.*
*Istius ante sacros se præbuit alter ab ortu,*
*Alter ab occasu Cæsar uterque pedes.*
*Alter ut accipiat Fidei documenta Latinæ,*
*Alter ut aurato cingat honore caput.*
*Qua duce & Armenii, Graiorum exempla secuti,*
*Romanam agnorunt Æthiopesque fidem.*
*Inde Siri ac Arabes, mundique è finibus Indi.*
*Magna, sed hæc animo cuncta minora suo.*
*Nam valida rursum Teucros jam classe petebat,*
*Dum petit ast illum sustulit atra Dies.*
*Qui semper vanos tumuli contempsit honores*
*Atque hac impressa condita dixit humo.*
*Sed non quem rubro decoraverat ille galero,*
*Non hoc Franciscus stirps sua clara tulit.*
*Susceptique memor meriti, tàm nobile, quod nunc*
*Cernis, tàm præstans surgere jussit opus.*

translate

After his death the seat was vacant twelve days.

——o——

## NICOLAS V.

### 1447-1455.

NICOLAS the Fifth, formerly called Thomas Sarzana, a town in the territory of Lucca, was chosen Pope by general consent, March 6, 1447. Who though he were a man but of mean extract (his mother's name was Andreola, and his father's Bartholomew, a physician), yet he was worthy of the pontificate for his virtue, learning, courtesy, good nature, liberality, and magnificence, notwithstanding all which he was so modest, that he thought himself undeserving of so great an honour, and desired the cardinals to take better care for the Church of God. But when the cardinal of Tarento exhorted him not to resist the Holy Ghost, he submitted his shoulders to the burthen, and took it upon him. The cardinal of Portugal being asked (as it is usual), coming out of the conclave, who they had made Pope, he answered, "We did not

choose Nicolas, but God has." There are who say that this Thomas was born at Pisa, brought up at Lucca, and made a scholar at Bologna, especially in philosophy and divinity, which he learned under Nicolas Albergate, cardinal of St Cross, who was extremely pleased with the youth's ingenuity and parts. For which reason he, in his popedom, assumed the name of Nicolas, because it was the name of one who had deserved very well of him. Having gained his degree in the university, by a probation in the most acute controversies, the cardinal of St Cross made him steward of his household, and of the clerks of the penitentiary, till he got a pontifical sub-deaconship by his good life and conversation, which all people admired, and then he began to think of greater matters. For Eugenius, who knew his learning and integrity (especially by the disputations that he had with the Greeks at Florence and Ferrara), had at that time designed him for a cardinal. But that he might do it with better pretensions, he sent him into Germany, along with John Carvagialla (who was afterward cardinal of St Angelo), to dissolve the Council of Basle, and the neutrality. For the Germans were called neuters, because they would obey neither Felix nor Eugenius; by which means the Church of God suffered greatly, and the papacy lost something of its grandeur. There were frequent meetings to dispute that point before Frederick, King of the Romans, by the persuasions of Æneas Piccolomini, who was afterward Pope; but at that time only secretary to the king. And indeed they found it hard to remove the Germans from their opinion, though it was altogether false: as on the other side it was difficult to induce Eugenius's agents to comply with the German proposals. At last the agents being mollified, and the requests of the Germans moderated, they had certainly put an end to the schism and neutrality (which was so pernicious to the see of Rome) if the Germans would have stood to their promise. So that the legates went back to Eugenius with that opinion and were made cardinals by general agreement, to whom Eugenius sent their hats whilst they were yet in the Porta del Popolo, that they might come with greater honour into the city. Thus in one and the same year Thomas got to be bishop of Bologna, cardinal, and Pope, to the great satisfaction of the clergy and people of Rome. And yet when the cardinals were in the conclave, there was a small bustle in the city by the instigation of Stephen Porcaro, a

Roman knight, and an eloquent, ingenious man, who, calling his companions about him into the Church, called Ara Cœli, encouraged them to assert their liberty; for he said that every petit town (when the lord of it was dead) was used to talk of liberty, or at least of limiting the power of their governors. But nothing was done to that purpose, because the Archbishop of Benevento, then vice-chamberlain, was against it. The Romans also feared King Alphonso, who stayed at Tivoli after Eugenius was dead, and was in doubt with himself, whether he should go back, or make war against the Florentines, as he, Eugenius, and Philip had formerly a design to do. And whilst he deliberated, two Sienese, that got their livings by setting people together by the ears, persuaded him to attempt the government of Tuscany, which he might easily obtain, if he were once master of Siena, which would surrender itself upon his arrival there. The king commended the Sienese, and sending them away to solicit their fellow-citizens, he promised them to be there in such a time. But Nicolas, the Pope, who was a lover of peace and quietness, after he had kept his coronation (as the fashion is) and made many processions on foot in his own person, he sent Cardinal Morinensis to Ferrara (a place which, being neutral, was fit for the treaty), that by the persuasion and authority of his legate, the factions might be the more induced to a composure. Thither also did Alphonso, Philip, the Venetians, and Florentines send their ambassadors, who after a long debate gave Philip leave to choose whether he would take a truce with the Venetians and Florentines for five years (both sides keeping what they had) or conclude a peace, and change Crema for those towns which the Venetians had taken upon the river Adda, leaving only Cassan at the Pope's disposal, as being his due by compact, to make amends for the injuries which he first received. But that also was afterward thrown in, to make the peace more lasting. And one of Philip's ambassadors was sent to make the proposal to him, who found him dead of an apoplexy the day before he came to Milan, August 8, 1447. Morinensis, hearing of Philip's death, sent for all the ambassadors in haste to his house, and urged for peace as earnestly as ever. The Venetians, when they were asked if they would continue of their former opinion, made answer, "That they could not tell what they might do now Philip was dead, but that they would write to the Senate concerning that affair, and

do as they should order them." In the meantime the other ambassadors that were there, knowing the Venetians' ambition to govern all Italy, dissolved the assembly and went every one to their own home, the Pope's legate exhorting them to concord, but all in vain. But the Venetians, whose camp was at Soresina, near Cremona, in hopes to take that tumultuous city by surrender with the help of the Guelphs, when they heard of Philip's death, marched presently to Lodi, which having taken, they received those of Piacenza into their alliance upon the same terms as them of Lodi, and sent one thousand five hundred horse thither immediately to assist the people of Piacenza if any body should molest them. Francis Sforza, who at that time was beaten out of Ancona, and quartered in Bologna to refresh his army, whose arms, horses, and men were almost spent with this long war, when he heard that the Venetians had seized all upon his father-in-law's death, went great days' journeys till he came to Cremona, and was chosen general by the universal consent of the Milanese over all their forces against the Venetians. And having made a bridge over the river Po, which he fortified with castles and artillery to hinder the Venetians from coming with a navy to Piacenza, he passed the Adda at Picigitono, and encamped not far from the enemy, who lay at Camurago; and there they had some light skirmishes to try, I suppose, the enemy's courage. The people of Pavia were so much encouraged at Francis's coming, and so glad to see him, because they hated to be subject to the Milanese upon an old grudge that was between them, and on the other hand, would rather suffer anything than submit to the Venetians, who had formerly despised their alliance insomuch that they delivered their city up to Francis without any more ado by consent of the governor of the castle, which was such an addition to his grandeur that Sforza presently affected to be lord of the whole Duchy of Milan. These things passed in Lombardy and thereabouts, whilst Alphonso at the same time fell down with his army into the sea coast of Siena, and had subdued them (though the Pope was against it) had not the Florentines, who knew the king's intention, sent a messenger to Siena to advise them that Alphonso, who was covetous of dominion, was no less their enemy than the Florentines'. The Sienese hearing what danger they were in, they did not deny the king any kind of provisions, but yet they would not suffer

any of his soldiers to come within their walls. So that the king, when he observed their caution, marched down into Volaterra and Pisa, and took many castles there partly by surrender and partly by storm which yet the Florentines recovered not long after, all but Castiglione, under the command of Sigismund Malatesta, whom they had corrupted to come over from Alphonso to their side. In the meantime Nicolas the Pope continually persuaded the king and the Venetians to peace rather than war; but they, who were grown proud and unruly, would not hearken to his good advice. Thereupon Francis raised a great army, out of the main strength of Italy (uniting the Brachian and Sforzian soldiers), and pitched his camp in the middle of autumn at Piacenza, in which was a good garrison of Venetians, and beating down part of the walls with cannon he staid before it so long till the Po rose to that prodigious height that his galleons came up to the very walls, and so attacking it both by land and water, at last he took and plundered it. This was a great honour to Francis to take so great a city, and that in the winter time, when it rained so hard that the soldiers were ready to leave their tents. Yet Nicolas was even then still talking of peace, and the Florentines were urgent with their allies the Venetians, because they feared the king's power, who was then with his army in Tuscany. But nothing was done in it, because the Venetians were unwilling to restore Lodi to the Milanese, which they earnestly sought. So that Nicolas, after so many attempts to no purpose, laid aside all thoughts of making peace by such means, and applying himself to religious exercises, he ordered days of humiliation to be kept for appeasing God's anger, and prayers for the peace of Christendom. And at the solemnities the Pope himself assisted with all the clergy in procession from St Peter's to St Mark's, with great piety and religion. But the wrath of God was not abated for all that, so much had men probably deserved it. For two years after, there was such a plague in almost all places that few survived out of great numbers. And this calamity was foretold by frequent earthquakes and an eclipse of the sun: nay it had been often foretold by the Friars Predicants; especially one Robert, a Franciscan, and famous preacher, who so moved the people of Rome with his sermons that the women and children ran about the city desiring God to be merciful unto them. And lest any misfortune should be lacking in Italy, the wars which

we told you were begun before did so increase, that one would have thought it impossible to have put an end to them. For Francis Sforza (the next summer) having taken some castles from the Venetians, went with his land and sea forces against their navy which blocked up the Cremonese, and forced it to retire to Casal; thither also he followed it, and with his cannon disabled all their ships as they lay in the harbour, driving the Admiral of Venice to such despair that he burned his navy, which he could not keep, and ran into the town as fast as he could. Francis then went from thence, and took no farther care about Cremona, having destroyed the enemy's navy; but marched toward Geradada, and encamped before Caravagio, which was well fortified by the enemies. The Venetians moved thither too, fearing they should lose their reputation if the Milanese took the town, and therefore they lay about a mile off the enemy, and showed the townsmen that if occasion were they would come in and assist them. They had skirmishes every day, they were so near one another; but when they came to join battle, it happened to be in a narrow way surrounded with fens, where the vanguard of the Venetians was so straitened that they could not give back (as sometimes in war it may be convenient to do) nor yet fight, the enemy came so thick upon them, insomuch that they must of necessity have perished if the rear had not begun to run away. Francis pursued them as they gave ground, and not only made himself master of their wealthy camp but took about five thousand horse and foot. After that the Brachins were, without Francis's consent, ordered by the Milanese to attack Lodi, and he moved toward Brescia with his army and besieged it, which so alarmed the Venetians that they concluded themselves lost if they did not make peace with Francis, now he had a quarrel with the Milanese; and a peace they did make upon condition that, joining their forces against the Milanese, all that they should take beyond the river Adda and Po should be Francis's, and that on this side the Adda should be the Venetians', that they should allow him (the Florentines and the Venetians betwixt them) sixteen thousand pounds a month, and send him in aid still, till he got possession of Milan. Having made this league, and drawn what commanders he could to his side by promises and presents, he turned toward the Milanese, and took most of their cities by surrender. At this success of his the Venetians were so concerned,

when they saw his fortune much better than they expected, that they took Crema according to agreement, and recalling all their soldiers they made peace with the Milanese, as fearing the power of Francis, if he once got into Milan. But Francis pretended a kindness to the Venetians, and being assisted and supplied more out of Cosmo di Medicis' private pocket than out of the treasury of Florence, after a long and tedious siege, and many bloody skirmishes, in the middle of winter, though some of his men forsook him, and joined the enemy, and Alphonso was against him, who claimed Milan as his birthright (and therefore kept Lewis Gonzaga in pay, whom he sent against the Bolognians, that his men might pass with more safety into Lombardy), he at last took Milan in the year 1449. It is true the Venetians did assist the Milanese, under the conduct of Sigismund Malatesta (who was to join with Picenninus, that fought under the Milanese), but after such a lame rate, that they were famished, and yielded up the city rather to the Venetians than to Francis. Wherefore the Venetians, seeing the thing went quite contrary to their expectation, they treated with Alphonso, who was an utter enemy to Francis, and made a league with him, to rout the ambitious man out of Milan before he grew too strong. They also solicited the Florentines to do the same, who said they would never be against Francis, and therefore the Venetians banished their merchants out of their dominions, and prevailed with Alphonso to do the like. Nicolas, the Pope, seeing all Italy in arms, did often interpose his authority to make a peace, that all people might come the next year freely out of all Europe to the jubilee; for the fiftieth year was coming wherein the jubilee was to be celebrated after the usual manner. Besides, he made six cardinals, of which number were Latinus, Ursinus, and his own brother, by the mother's side, called Philip, Cardinal of St Laurence, in Lucina, a very good man and of a generous disposition. Meantime Frederick the emperor, at the Pope's request, forced Felix to renounce the popedom, because he saw how pernicious and destructive so much sedition had been to the Church of Rome. Yet Nicolas was so civil and kind to Amadeus, that he sent him a cardinal's hat, with legatine power in Germany, that he might not live without some honour at least. And those cardinals also which Amadeus had made, submitted. This agreement of theirs did

so rejoice not only all the clergy, but the people of Rome, that the night after they heard of it, April 23, 1449, they rode about the city with flambeaux in their hands, and cried out, "Long live Nicolas." The Pope, that he might not seem unthankful to God for so extraordinary a benefit, went publicly to prayers in the Vatican along with the clergy and the people. The like was done all Italy over, when they saw the Church of God freed from such a pernicious sedition. Nay, the Pope's authority and esteem was so great, that he restrained even princes for some time, when they had a mind to make war. For James Picenninus, Sigismund Malatesta, and Charles Gonzaga, who were Francis Sforza's bitter, mortal enemies, incited the Venetians to that war. The Venetians also had drawn the Duke of Savoy into their alliance, together with the Marquis of Montserrat and the Lords of Correggio, and tried to bring over the Bolognians and those of Perugia, but in vain, for the Pope was against it, and threatened them with his displeasure if they offered to do it. They likewise indented with Alphonso, that whilst they attacked Francis, he should engage the Florentines. But Francis, relying upon the friendship and power of the Florentines, and having taken Lewis Gonzaga, Prince of Mantua, into his alliance, he prepared himself with courage for the war. Hence arose great animosities between Charles and Lewis, that Lewis should court his alliance, who was Charles's enemy, and because he had kept some towns from him which his father left him by his will. For Lewis was his brother's security when he was once arrested for eighty thousand pounds, and Charles having no mind to part with his land, he chose rather to pay the money to Francis (who was for money or towns either), and keep the towns in his own hands, as being near and conveniently situated. For this reason Charles blamed his brother, and accused him as a robber, not only to the Venetians, on whose side he was, but to the emperor, by whose assistance he expected to have right done him. And now the year of jubilee was come, when such a multitude of people flocked to Rome as never were seen there before, so that, when they came from seeing our Saviour's picture, in the Vatican, back into the city, a mule which was in the way, belonging to Peter Barbus, Cardinal of St Mark's, was thronged to death, and two hundred men and three horses trodden to dirt and suffocated in the crowd upon the bridge near

St Angelo, besides many that fell from the sides of the bridge into the river, and perished in the water. It is certain there were one hundred and thirty-six buried on that occasion in St Celsus's, and the rest carried to Campo Sancto Hereupon Pope Nicolas, who was heartily sorry for them, pulled down certain little cottages, that straitened the way to the bridge, and spent most of that year in processions, daily visiting one noted church or other, whither he was attended by all the cardinals. He likewise took care, that though there were such a vast number of people, yet they should want nothing that was necessary for them; nor was he wanting with curses and guards to deter highwaymen from molesting those strangers that came to the city at that time. The next year he heard that Frederick the emperor was coming to the city to receive his imperial crown, and to marry Leonora, daughter to the King of Portugal, and Alphonso's niece, wherefore he fortified the gates and towers of the city, as also the castle of St Angelo, as well as he could, out of fear, I suppose, lest the emperor's coming should make some new commotion here, he being naturally very timorous. For that reason he called all his forces to Rome, and, to oblige the people, chose thirteen senators, to govern the thirteen wards of the city, and gave them thirteen scarlet gowns The emperor upon his arrival was met by thirteen cardinals, with all the nobility and magistracy of the city, and having passed the castle gate, was saluted at St Peter's by the Pope himself, by whom he was conducted into the church, with his Empress Leonora, whom he had met at Siena, lately arrived out of Spain, upon March 9, 1452. And from thence (after mass said) they departed, and lodged in that house which stands by St Peter's stairs to this day, though it looks better than it did, because it was beautified at the cost and charge of the Cardinal of Constance. For some days after, the Pope said mass in his own person, and blessed the emperor and empress after the usual manner at weddings, before the bridegroom lies with his bride; and presented them with the crown imperial upon the eighteenth of that month, in the same place. As the emperor was going, after his coronation, to St John's, he made several knights upon the bridge at St Angelo. Then he and his empress went into Naples, to see King Alphonso, by whom he was received with all splendour and magnificence; and afterwards returning to Rome by sea, he took his journey immediately

for his own country, because he heard that some princes in Germany and Hungary were upon new designs on the behalf of King Ladislaus, a fine young gentleman, whom he had brought along with him When he departed, two cardinals attended upon him several miles; that is to say, the Cardinal of Bologna, who was the Pope's brother, and Carvagialla, Cardinal of St Angelo. Now, when the emperor was gone, the Venetians raised a great army and marched into Cremona, where they spoiled all they came near, besieging Soncio and the adjacent towns, which they not long after took, together with some troops of horse that fell into their hands, because Francis had not his men ready so soon as he should have had But after that, when Lewis Gonzaga, his friend and ally, came up, he went into Brescia and brought the Venetians to such an extremity that they durst not venture out of their fens to fight in the open campaign. For that reason the Venetians were willing to protract the time, as placing all their hopes of victory in delays, because they thought Francis could not hold out long at such a charge for want of money. They likewise hoped that the Milanese would think of their liberty which he had lately extorted from them, and whilst Francis was engaged in such an important war endeavour to shake off the yoke of servitude by some new commotions. Ferdinand at this time, by the command of his father, Alphonso, marched into Tuscany with about eight thousand horse and four thousand foot against the Florentines; and when he had tempted Cortona to rebel, he took Foiano, a town near Arezzo, after forty days' siege, with the loss of a great many men on both sides. He marched from thence into Siena, and after he had vainly attempted the taking of Castellina, he fell down into the sea coast of Siena to winter, but took some castles from those of Volaterra by the way. Sigismund Malatesta, who was general of the Florentine army, observed his motions all along, with design to take an opportunity of doing his business the more successfully. But the Florentines fearing the power of Alphonso and the Venetians both by sea and land, resolved, with the consent of Francis, to call in foreign aid; and upon that account they sent Angelus Accioiolus, a knight, their envoy into France, who, recounting the continual kindnesses between the Florentines and that crown, induced him to command the Duke of Savoy and the Grisons that had taken up arms against Francis, not to injure the friend and ally of the

Florentines, either by word or deed, if they would have him their friend. He also persuaded Regnier d'Anjou to accept of his assistance by men and money in order to retrieve the kingdom of Naples, from whence he had been expelled by Alphonso, seeing the king was at that time engaged in the Florentine wars. After this embassy, the Florentines and Francis grew so prosperous that the Venetians were glad to make peace, their army, which they had sent against the Prince of Mantua, under the command of Charles Gonzaga, being routed not far from Godio. This army had been raised and despatched away under Gonzaga, to hinder the Mantuan and Brandoline, who were bringing together forces for the service of Sforza from joining with him, by which means he would have easily been able to overcome their less powerful army under Gentilis. Carvagialla came the year before to the armies to make peace between them, in the name of Nicolas, but went away without any satisfaction, calling both God and man to witness, it was not along of Nicolas that a peace was not settled in Italy, but that he was desirous it should be so, that war might be made against the Turks by the unanimous consent of Christendom. For he had heard that the Turks were making preparations against Constantinople, and, therefore, sent Cardinal Ruten thither, who was a Constantinopolitan born, to promise the emperor and the citizens his assistance if they would return to the Catholic Church, as they had promised in the Council of Florence. In the meantime Regnier, who was desirous to recover the kingdom of Naples (in order whereunto Francis and the Florentines had promised him their assistance if he would pass the Alps against the Venetians), attempted, but in vain, to make his way through Savoy with two thousand horse, and having spent most of the summer in that affair, went another way to Savona, and so to Francis. Francis was so proud of the company of so great a king, and was so well recruited both as to men and courage, that he chased his enemy into the mountains of Brescia ; and after that marched round Brescia and Bergamo, where he took forty towns, partly by storm and partly by surrender. But the winter coming on they all went into their winter quarters, and Regnier, leaving his son at Florence, returned, much dissatisfied both with the Florentines and Francis, into France. All people's courage began now to cool with the season, and the States and princes finding their

treasuries almost exhausted with the continual charges of a war, they began to think of peace, which Nicolas had formerly attempted ; and the Venetians and Florentines, who hated the licentiousness of the common soldiers, were now mightily for it. Nicolas, having just discovered the conspiracy of Stephen Porcaro, a knight of Rome, neglected that affair, though it were in a fair way, and applied himself to remove those civil animosities. For Stephen had more courage than power, and was a very great master of his mother-tongue, and having made broad signs that he would free his country (as I told you), was banished by the Pope into Bologna, upon condition that every day he should present himself to Nicen, who was governor of the city. But he pretending himself sick cheated the governor, and by advice of the conspirators went back to Rome in all haste, with a design as soon he came thither to cry out liberty to the people and seize upon the Pope and cardinals. But while he lay down a little while, tired with the length of his journey and much watching (for he had been some whole nights without sleep), he gave them opportunity and time to discover the plot. When the Pope knew of his audacious design, he presently sent James Lavagnolus, a senator, a Veronese, and sub-chamberlain, with a guard, to take and put him into prison. He hearing of their coming, fled to his sister's house, and left Baptista Sarra, with a few servants at his own, who being an active, bold fellow, got both himself and his companions out of the house, and escaped without any hurt. But being informed whither Stephen was gone, they took him at his sister's, where he lay hid in a chest, and having confessed the whole story of the plot, they hanged him under Castle St Angelo. Angelus Massa and his son had the same punishment in the Capitol, together with their accomplice, Savas, having first read the narrative of the plot publicly, January 9, 1453. After that he persecuted and destroyed all the rest of the conspirators, especially Francis Gabadeus and Peter de Monterotundo, with Baptista Sarra, who was delivered up to justice by the Venetians. For to them had he fled after the conspiracy was discovered. But Nicolas, who hitherto had treated the Romans with all liberality and kindness, and went about the city with more freedom than ever any Pope before him, was more cautious for the future, and more morose too, not only to all in general, but especially to the

Romans: whom he would not admit to speak with him. Besides he had the gout very severely; but nothing tormented him so much as when he heard that the Turk had taken Constantinople and Pera at one time, and that the Emperor of Constantinople, and many thousands more, were killed He was afraid lest Cardinal Ruten might have been taken and killed too (whom he (I told you) sent thither), but he escaped in a disguise. The Pope had a mind to assist the Constantinopolitans with soldiers and a navy, as his letters which he wrote to the emperor do testify: wherein among other misfortunes he blames them for their revolting from the Church, and their pretended affection to the Latins: but that city was taken so suddenly that he had hardly any time to think of sending aid. Besides all these things, lest anything should be lacking to torment him, the Count Aversus attacked Norscia without his order, being hired to do so by those of Spoleto: for those two people had a controversy concerning their bounds. Hereupon he sent Angelus Ronco with the Church forces to stop the count's passage, that he might not return to his own towns. But he hearing that Angelus was in the fault, that the soldiers did not take the count as he came back, he sent for him into Castle St Angelo, and put him to death at three of the clock at night. Some write that Nicolas was very sorry for that action, that the governor of the castle should execute what he in passion commanded him so punctually. The Venetians now seeing it was to no purpose to talk of peace (for they had often attempted it), and fearing lest Francis should slight it by the persuasion of Lewis Gonzaga, they sent James Picenninus, their general, with a great body of horse in all speed to Volto: which, when he had taken and repelled Angelus into Godio (not without damage to Lewis, who was then sick there) they recalled him into his winter quarters, thinking that Lewis was now sufficiently moved to seek peace. In the meantime Simonetus, a hermit, went up and down from one to the other, and persuaded sometimes the Venetians and sometimes Francis to concord so long till he made them agree upon a peace, which was publicly proclaimed, April 9, 1454, upon these terms, that every one should have all that was theirs before the war restored to them except Geradada and Gastiglione di Pescara, of which the former Francis had taken from the Venetians, and Alphonsus, the latter from the Florentines. And to make

it the stronger, as also that Alphonso might see they had respect to him as a king, the princes and states thought fit to send ambassadors to him: where, when they arrived from all places, Dominicus Capranius, Cardinal of St Crosses and great Penitentiary (a man of great prudence and authority), who was sent legate from the Pope, by his exhortations and admonitions offering himself the umpire for the peace, he brought him at last to agree that the peace which the Venetians and Francis had made should be confirmed, and assented to by all parties, and if any quarrel happen between them for the future, that the Pope should have power to decide it: as also that whoever should offer violence to the other, should be censured by the Pope, and reckoned a common enemy. When, therefore, they had all taken an oath to perform it, the peace was confirmed at Naples, about a year after the former peace, which was accounted the most firm that ever our ancestors knew. For all except the Genoese joined in it; but Alphonso could not agree with them by any means, because they promised him tribute, and did not pay it as he said. There was also left a good pretence for a war either by the neglect or design of the ambassadors, which Alphonso made use of afterward against Sigismund Malatesta; that he should receive money of Alphonso as a soldier's pay, and yet fight under the Florentines against him. But Nicolas, the Pope, whether for grief at Constantinople being taken, or whether of a fever and the gout wherewithal he was very much tormented, died in the eighth year of his pontificate, 1455, and was buried in St Peter's very honourably; upon whose tombstone this epitaph is deservedly inscribed:

"*Hic sita sunt quinti Nicolai antistitis ossa,*
*Aurea qui dederat secula, Roma, tibi.*
*Consilio illustris, virtute illustrior omni,*
*Excoluit Doctos doctior ipse Viros.*
*Abstulit errorem quo Schisma infecerat urbem*
*Restituit mores, mœnia, templa, domos.*
*Tum Bernardino statuit sua sacra Senensi,*
*Sancta Jubilei tempora dum celebrat.*
*Cinxit honore caput Frederici conjugis aureo*
*Res Italas icto fœdere composuit*
*Attica Romanæ complura volumina linguæ*
*Prodidit, en! tumulo fundite thura sacro.*"

He was commendable for his liberality toward all, especially learned men, whom he advanced with money, court prefer-

ments, and benefices; whom he would sometimes put upon reading public lectures, sometimes upon writing some new thing, and sometimes upon translating Greek authors into Latin, insomuch that the Greek and Latin tongues which had lain hid for six hundred years, at last regained their splendour to some considerable degree. He also sent those learned men all over Europe to find out such books as had been lost either by the negligence of antiquity, or the brutal fury of the barbarous nations. So that Poggius found out Quintilian; and Enoch Asculanus, Marcus Cælius Appicius, as also Pomponius Porphyrio, a famous writer upon Horace. Besides, he erected most stately buildings in the city, and the Vatican in the city, a noble house for popes, near St Mary the Greater, and repaired St Stephen's Church that stands in the Mount di St Giovanni, but built St Theodore's, that stands upon the plain between the Palazzo Maggiore and the Campidoglio, from the ground. He likewise covered the roof of St Mary the Round, which stands in the middle of the city, an ancient temple built by Agrippa, with lead. And in the Vatican he not only beautified the Pope's house after that manner which we see, but he began the walls of the Vatican, very large and high, laying foundations for towers, and a vast superstructure, whereby to keep the enemy from plundering the Pope's house, or St Peter's Church, as formerly was often used. Furthermore, at the upper end of St Peter's he began a great gallery to make the church more glorious, and hold more people. He also repaired Ponte Melle: and built a fine house at Viterbo near the baths. Not only so, but he lent many others money who were a-building in the city, and by his order the streets were paved. He was very charitable, especially to persons of quality, if they happened to be reduced to poverty, and gave poor maids a competent portion when they were married. He always received foreign ambassadors very honourably and freely. He was easily angered, to say the truth, being a choleric man, but he was easily pleased again: and that gave some ill-natured people the occasion to carp at him, though he deserved extremely well of God and man. Then he was so far from covetousness, that he never sold any place, nor ever was guilty of simony. He was kind to them, who had deserved well of himself and the Church of God, a lover of justice, the author and preserver of peace, merciful to offenders, a diligent observer

of ceremonies, and would omit nothing belonging to Divine worship. The vessels of gold and silver, crosses set with jewels, priestly robes adorned with gold and pearls, the arras hangings interwoven with gold and silver and a papal crown, are yet to be seen as monuments of his munificence. I do not mention the many holy books that were transcribed by his order and embossed with gold and silver: but you may see the Pope's library, which was wonderfully augmented by his care, and at his charge. He was so kind to the religious that he gave them a great deal of money and ecclesiastical benefices besides, and canonised St Bernardine of Siena, a Friar Minor, because by his preaching, admonitions, and reproofs, he had almost extinguished the factions of Italy, that is to say, the Guelphs and the Gibelline faction, and showed Christians the way to live well and happily: whose body is now to be seen, and daily visited with great veneration, at Aquila.

## CALIXTUS III.

### 1455-1458.

CALIXTUS the Third, first called Alphonso Borgia, a Spaniard, born at Sativa, in the diocese of Valencia, (whose father and mother were called John and Frances, of a genteel family, and gave him good education) was made Pope by consent of the cardinals, April 8, 1455. First for his education, he was but fourteen years old when, having laid the foundations of learning elsewhere, he went to the University of Lerida, where he attained to such perfection, that in a short time he commenced doctor in civil and canon law, and made very learned readings to those that came to hear him. So that Peter Luna (called Benedict the XIII), on his own accord and without asking, gave him a canonship of the church of Lerida. And now becoming famous for his learning he went to Alphonso, King of Aragon; and was made his secretary and one of his Privy Council. Afterward he was made governor of the church of Majorca, and his friends persuaded him to be parson of that church; he refused it, and said, he expected to be Bishop of Valencia, as not long after he deservedly came to be For when Benedict the XIII. was dead, and those two anti-cardinals, which I told you of in the

life of Martin, had made one Giles, a canon of Barcelona, Pope (in the room of the other that died at Panischola), whom they called Clement the Eighth, Alphonso Borgia was presently sent thither by King Alphonso, (who was now agreed with Martin) not without apparent danger of his own life as well as those that attended on him: so tyrannically was Panischola kept, and governed by those chiefly whose interest it was to breed discord. This Alphonso then made Giles so sensible of his error by his reason and authority, that upon the arrival of Peter, the Pope's legate, he quitted the popedom and submitted to the papal jurisdiction. Upon this account Martin made Giles Bishop of Majorca, and Alphonso Bishop of Valencia. After that, when wars arose between Alphonso of Aragon, and John, King of Castile, Alphonso Borgia was thought the only fit man, to go and exhort the two kings to peace and amity, which after seven years' wars he procured, and made such a lasting peace, by conjugal alliances as well as other means, that some conditions of that league are observed even to this day. But when the Council of Basle was at the height, King Alphonso, who was then at war in Naples, being desired to send somebody thither, he ordered Alphonso Borgia to go: who taking it ill that a thing of such pernicious consequence should be committed to his management, he got leave of the queen to go into Italy to the king with Ferdinand, the king's son, and exhort him, that after so many dangerous expeditions, and difficulties with which he was even at that time surrounded, he would return into his own country. But the king told him he would not, but sent him to Eugenius, who was then at Florence, to treat concerning a peace. For Vitelleschi, having entered the kingdom of Naples in Eugenius's name with an army, plundered and spoiled all that came before him, to hinder the king from taking Naples, which at that time he laid siege to. But the business taking up time, and the Pope intending in the meantime to make twenty cardinals, among the rest designed the Bishop of Valencia should be one. though he refused the honour with all the earnestness imaginable; because, he said, it was not fit for him to receive, especially till he had done the business that he came for. Afterwards Eugenius returned to Rome, the Patriarch of Aquilegia, whom he sent to Tarracina to the king, having made a peace between the Pope and the king, upon conditions, at the making of which the Bishop

of Valencia was present, and interposed his authority and care, for which the Pope began to love him so well, that he soon after made him Cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor, and sent for him to Rome, where he used no less modesty in his cardinalate, than he had before in his bishopric, being always free and far from pomp and vain-glory. When he spoke in the Senate, he was reckoned so grave and sincere a person that he never spake anything out of flattery, or to win favour. But Eugenius dying, and Nicolas after him, this Alphonso Borgia, as I told you, was made Pope in St Peter's Palace, taking upon him the name of Calixtus, and immediately proclaimed war against the Turks: showing his own handwriting whereby he had vowed to do so even before his pontificate in a book of his to this purpose: "I, Calixtus, do vow to God and the Holy Trinity, that I will persecute the Turks, those enemies of Christianity, with war, curses, interdictions, execrations, and by all the ways I am able." All that were by admired at it, that he should arrogate to himself the name of Pope before he had the honour conferred, and that a man who was so old and decrepit should have so much courage. But that he might really perform his promise, he sent preachers through all Europe, to animate all Christians against the Turks, and to persuade such as were able to lend their helping hand in that momentous expedition; and of these he sent sixteen galleys full, built at Rome, over whom the Patriarch of Aquilegia was admiral, and harassed the sea-coasts of Asia for three years together, where he took several islands and did the enemy a great deal of damage. King Alphonso and the Duke of Burgundy also took upon them the cross, and professed that they would either go against the enemy in their own persons, or at least would raise men to send. Yet this affair, as it was moved at a heat, so it as easily cooled again, whilst the princes indulged their pleasures and neglected that which would have gained them immortal fame. Whilst the Pope was crowned in the Lateran, two soldiers, one under the Earl Aversus and the other under Neapolio Orsini (men of diverse factions and parties), who, quarrelling about a young lad, did so wound each other that they both died upon the spot. For that reason Neapolio, raising the Orsini faction, invaded the house where the Count Aversus lived; but the count being from home, he would have gone to the Lateran to seize him, but was with much ado kept back by his brother,

Latinus, the Pope's chamberlain. And, indeed, Neapolio could not have gone thither without great damage to the city, because all the faction of the Colonnas, who favoured the count, were then in arms. The Pope also had sent John Baruncellus and Lælius de Valle (two advocates of the Consistory) to both of them to make them friends, so that by this means the present disturbance was appeased, but the old grudge betwixt them still remained; for they had many trials of skill, to the great disadvantage of their adherents. The Pope, however, applied his mind to his pontifical affairs, and canonised St Vincent, a Spaniard of the Order of Preachers, and St Edmund of England; and upon that occasion said prayers and thanksgivings from Ecclesia Minervæ to St Peter's with a long train of clergy and laity following him. But lest any thing should be wanting to disturb the Church, some country fellows of Palombara, a town in Sabina, who were formerly banished thence by James Sebellus, lord of the place, returned home, and killing two sons of James's, promised to surrender the town to the Church, which Calixtus not only refused to accept, but sent Cardinal Colonna thither to appease them. Neapolio, fearing the cardinal should seize Palombara in his own name, he went thither with his army and besieged the town for some days; though, when Matthew Poianus and Francis Sabellus, with other commanders, came up by order from the Pope and the cardinal, they raised the siege, entered Palombara, and hanged twenty of the country fellows, of those especially that had made the disturbance, and quartered them, to give example to others, and warn them never to attempt so great a piece of villany against their rightful lords. Soon after appeared a comet for some days, hairy and red; of which, when the astrologers said that it portended a great plague, dearth, or some mighty slaughter, Calixtus appointed a fast for several days, to pray to God that, if any judgment hung over them, He would be pleased to avert and turn it upon the Turks, the enemies to Christianity. He gave order, likewise, that God should be supplicated every day, and that a bell should be rung about noon to give people notice when they should join in prayer for the Christians against the Turks; so that the Christians, assisted by the prayers of the whole Church, fought against the Turks at Belgrade, under the conduct of John, the Vaivod, an excellent person, and John Capistranus, of the Order of Minors

bearing the Holy Cross, and conquered them when they besieged Belgrade, six thousand of the enemies being slain by a few of our men, as Carvagialla, Cardinal of St Angelo, wrote to the Pope and to Dominick Capranicus, Cardinal of St Crosses; besides that all their carriages and a hundred and sixty guns were taken; a blow that so much scared the Turk, that he retired in haste to Constantinople. And no doubt but that cruel, barbarous nation had been destroyed, if the Christian princes would but have laid aside their civil animosities and have pursued that great conquest by land and sea as Calixtus advised. But the Turk, recovering strength, took Trebisond, killing the emperor, and then Bossina, where he took and slew the king, all wise men perceiving, as from a watch-tower, and advertising the Christians of the calamities that were like to befall. Calixtus, especially, never desisted from exhorting the Christian princes, by letters and messengers, to open their eyes at last amidst such great dangers, for that they would seek a remedy in vain when the enemy was recruited. But whilst the good man was thinking and talking of these things, James Picenninus revolted from the Venetians and marched into the territories of Siena, with a numerous body of horse and foot, to demand of the Sienese some thousands of pounds, which, he said, they owed him upon his father, Nicolas's, account, who had formerly fought under their commission. The Sienese, fearing the worst, sent to the princes of Italy to assist them, as they were bound by contract, especially the Pope, who first advised them not to give James one farthing, and then sent his forces against him, and admonished the princes of Italy to do the same, lest a flame should break out in Italy which might be too fierce for them to quench. The Italians, fearing the Pope's words would prove too true, sent speedy succours to the Sienese, only Alphonso favoured James, and sent for him to his house, as being mindful of the friendship he formerly contracted with Nicolas Picenninus, his father, nor would he assist the Sienese as he ought to have done; nay, he so far animated Count Petilian against them, that he seemed to be the chief cause of all the mischief. But when the auxiliaries came in, not only from Francis Sforza, but the Venetians also, Picenninus was reduced to that pass in some few battles that if he were not routed he was mightily weakened, especially at Orbitello—insomuch that he was fain to take shipping in. Alphonso's

galleys, that were sent to him in his distress, and sail into his own country, without any success in that great attempt. Thus, by the assistance of Calixtus and his allies, were the Sienese freed from great danger; though they were still troubled with intestine and domestic, as well as foreign broils, by reason of some citizens that contemned their present liberty and followed Alphonso's faction, by whom also it is thought that great war was first raised. But the honest citizens turned out, or killed the rest, and do to this day retain that liberty which they purchased at so dear a rate Nor did they omit to punish the licentiousness of the soldiers or those that fled from their colours, as Gilbert Corrigia, whom they put to death, and gave his men for a common prey to the rest Sigismund Malatesta had like to have been served in the same sauce, who at that time fought under them, for protracting the war and driving away their cattle out of their grounds, as if he had been an enemy. That year there happened such an earthquake in the kingdom of Naples, upon the 7th of December, that many churches and houses fell down, to the great destruction of man and beast; especially at Naples, Capua, Gaeta, Aversa, and other cities in the old Campania, whose ruins I since have seen with great astonishment, when I went thither to look after antiquities. Then also did Alphonso often repeat his vow which he had made against the Turks, and said he should shortly perform it, but he could never be brought to the holy war for all that, so mightily was he taken with the delights of Naples. But Calixtus, when he had settled the affairs of Italy, created nine cardinals, of whom two were his nephews by two sisters of his, to wit, Roderick Borgia and John Miliano, his sisters' sons. He also made Æneas, Bishop of Siena, a cardinal, and made use of him to procure the peace of Italy whilst the Sienese were teased with war. The Earl Tagliacocius being dead, whom the Pope had made governor of the city the year before, there rose a controversy between Neapolio Orsini and the Count Aversus, for that the latter had possession of Monticello, not far from Tivoli, he pretending it belonged to his daughter-in-law, who was the count's daughter, and Neapolio urged on the other side that it ought to be his, himself being reckoned to be of the Orsini family. Whilst these two contended thus for their patrimony, and that with arms too, the Roman people suffered very greatly. But when this controversy also was

over, and both sides commanded to lay down their arms, Calixtus made his nephew, Borgia, not only governor of the city, in the room of the count deceased, but made him general of the Church forces, that he might keep the great men of the city the better in order. Alphonso, not long after, dying without a lawful heir, Calixtus had the courage to demand that kingdom, and said it belonged to the see apostolic as an escheat. Whereupon armies were raised on both sides, and Ferdinand, Alphonso's heir, feared Calixtus's resolution, for he knew his nature, and the greatness of his soul. But his death also put all things into confusion, and freed Ferdinand from great consternation of mind. Calixtus died in the third year, the third month, and sixteenth day of his pontificate, and was buried in the Vatican on the left hand side of St Peter's, in the Round Church, dedicated to St Marie del Febri, which was formerly repaired by Nicolas. Borgia also, his nephew, died not long after, at Civita Vecchia, whither he had fled to save himself from the Orsini, whom he had disobliged by favouring the opposite faction. But to give you a short character of Calixtus: he was a very upright man, and is to be commended for one thing above all; that when he was bishop or cardinal, he would never keep any benefice *in commendam*, but said he was content with one wife, and that a virgin, *i.e*, the Church of Valencia, as the canon law ordains. Besides, he was very charitable to poor Christians both in public and private, and gave portions to poor virgins when they were married, kept indigent noblemen at his own charge, and when occasion was, he was munificent to princes, especially those that could assist the Church of Christ. He likewise sent Lewis of Bologna, of the Order of St Francis, Usun-Cassanus, Prince of Persia and Armenia, and to the King of the Tartars, with many great presents, to animate them against the Turk; and by his persuasion they did the enemy great damage, and sent their ambassadors that were designed to come to Calixtus, after he died, to Pope Pius, which was an admirable rarity to us, not only upon account of the distant countries from whence they came, but their habit, which was unusual, and very strange to our eyes. They say that Usun-Cassanus, after many victories over the enemy, wrote to the Pope that he had conquered the foe by the Pope's prayers, and that he would one day thank him for his kindness, which was divine rather than human. That alliance was begun by

Calixtus, and is preserved to this day between all Christians and that prince, who vexes the Turk with continual war. He laid out but little in building, because he died too soon, and gathered up all the money that he could to maintain that great and perilous war against the Turks. Only he repaired St Prisca, upon the Mount Aventine, as also the city walls that were broken down almost to the ground. Yet some hangings of gold there are, which he bought. He was sparing in his diet, very modest in his discourse, and very accessible, as much as his age would suffer him to be, for he was eighty years old, and yet as studious as ever; for he either read himself, or heard those that did, whenever his important affairs would give him leave. He composed the office for the transfiguration of our Lord Jesus Christ, and ordered it to be said in the same manner and with the same indulgences for which Corpus Christi day is so much valued. He received all ambassadors that came to him with great kindness, but would not yield to any of their proposals or demands which were not consistent with virtue and justice. And that was the cause why he fell out and had a long quarrel with Alphonso, who sometimes would ask him to give bishoprics to such as either upon the score of their age, or ignorance in books as well as men, ought not to have them. When Calixtus died, he left £115,000 behind him, which he had heaped together to make warlike preparations against the Turk. As Calixtus was going to be buried, Dominick, Cardinal of St Crosses and chief penitentiary, died also (a man of gravity and great wisdom), and was buried in Minerva's Temple; to the grief of all good men.

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## PIUS II.

### 1458-1464.

PIUS the Second, before called Æneas Piccolomini, an Italian, of Siena, and born at Corsignano (whose father's name was Sylvius, and his mother's Victoria), was chosen Pope by general consent of the cardinals, August 20, 1458. Formerly his father and the rest of the nobility being banished or expelled the Republic of Siena by the commonalty of that

place, he went to Corsignano, the seat of his family, and there had a child by his wife, which child, as soon as it was born, the father christened Æneas Sylvius. Now his mother, when she was big with child, dreamed that she had brought forth a boy with a mitre on his head, at which she was afraid (as people are apt to think the worst of things) that her dream betokened some dishonour to their child and family; nor could she be eased of her fear till she heard her son was made Bishop of Trieste. And upon that news she was freed from all fear, and gave God thanks that she saw her son more happy than she expected. As soon as he was capable of learning anything, he, having a good memory and being very docile, went through his grammar at Corsignano, where he lived but poorly, being forced to undergo all the troubles of a rural employment. But when he was eighteen years of age he went to Siena, where, by the help of his friends, he first learned the poets and then the orators, in which he was so skilful, that in a short time he put forth poems in Latin and Italian, of which if the subject was love, it is to be ascribed to his youth. Thence he applied himself to the civil law, the study of which not long after he was forced to leave. For there arose a war between the Sienese and the Florentines, which made him fear a dearth; and seeing the commonalty of Siena suspected the nobility, he chose, as it were, a voluntary exile, and followed that excellent person, Dominick Capranicus, who then passed through Siena in his way to the council at Basle, to complain of the injury Eugenius had done him in denying him a cardinal's hat, which Martin even in his absence had bestowed upon him for his virtue and integrity. In his retinue he went, and after long tedious journeys over the Alps (that reach to heaven almost, and are covered with snow), he travelled over Ponte del Inferno, the Lake of Lucerne, and through Switzerland, till he at last came to Basle, in which assembly, though he had much to do, being Dominick's secretary, yet he stole always some hours for his book. After that he was forced, not without tears, to leave Dominick, because he was extremely poor, Eugenius denying him the revenue of his benefices and of his paternal estate too, he went to wait upon Bartholomew, Bishop of Novara, with whom he came to Florence, where Pope Eugenius at that time was. But he was forced to leave Bartholomew also (he being accused by the Pope of high treason), and betook himself to Nicolas, Cardinal of St Crosses,

and a very excellent and religious person in all men's judgments, who, going to Artois by order from Eugenius (where there was a convention of all the French princes), he made a peace between the Duke of Burgundy (an ally of England) and the King of France. After that, Nicolas, returning into Italy, made a peace between the Venetians and Philip, Duke of Milan, to their great satisfaction; and Æneas, who was not very acceptable to Eugenius, went to Basle, and was in great esteem among all men. He was made a secretary in that famous council, and abbreviator of the Pope's breves, as also a duodecimvir, or one of the twelve who in that great assembly were as censors. For nothing could be done relating to the public but what passed their graver approbation; and if any were admitted to the council that were not fit, they were removed by their order. There were in that council four subconventions or committees; one debated concerning faith, another of peace, a third of reformation, and the other of promiscuous matters. Over each of these there was a several president placed every month; and Æneas was often chairman of the committee for faith, of which he was a member, and was also chosen twice one of the collators, or disposers of benefices. He made several speeches in that assembly, but one more remarkably elegant, to prove that Pavia was preferable to Avignon, Udine, or Florence for a place convenient to hold a council in, by reason of its plenty, situation, magnificence of the houses, good air, and the liberality of Philip, their duke. When anything was to be done by the several nations together, he was the only person chosen for Italy to manage their business, he was a man so courteous and ingenuous. He went also on several embassies from the council . to Strasburg, three times; to Trent, once; to Constance, twice; to Frankfort, once; and into Savoy, twice. But when upon a long debate the council chose Felix Pope, and deposed Eugenius, and eight were chosen out of every nation to be managers of the council affairs, Æneas, who was the Pope's secretary, refused to be one, though it was offered him. And afterward, when he was sent ambassador from Felix to Frederick the emperor, he so far prevailed upon him by his ingenuity, that he made him a poet-laureate, his companion, and a prothonotary, which, in Germany, is a secretary of state. Not long after he was made a councillor of state, and showed such learning and authority, that he was reckoned the most ingenuous man there by far,

although he wanted not rivals and detractors. When Eugenius and the emperor first treated about putting an end to the schism, and Æneas went to the Pope upon that account, he stayed some time at Siena, where his friends desired him not to go to Eugenius; for they feared the Pope would use him severely, because his authority was often opposed (as people said) by Æneas in epistles and orations at the Council of Basle. But he was resolute, and, trusting to his own innocence, slighted the entreaties of his relations and went to Rome, where, in the first place, he acquitted himself before Eugenius in an elegant oration, for submitting to their opinion, who approved of the Council of Basle. And when he had so done, he began to treat with him about that which the emperor sent him to negotiate. Thereupon two agents were sent from Eugenius into Germany, of whom one was Sarzanus and the other John Carvagialla, by whose good management, and Æneas's industry together, the neutrality (as I told you in the life of Nicolas) was taken off. But that it might appear really to be so, and not in words only, the emperor sent Æneas himself to Rome, to make a public declaration of submission in all matters to Eugenius, in the name of himself and all Germany. Eugenius dying about this time, Æneas was president of the conclave, till another Pope was chosen in the room of the deceased, there being no orator in the city more fit for so great an employment. Nicolas being chosen Pope, he had leave to depart, and as he went into Germany, he (having been made sub-deacon by Eugenius) was made Bishop of Trieste (that bishop being just then dead) by the Pope and the emperor, without his own knowledge. After which Philip Visconti dying without an heir, the emperor sent him envoy to Milan, where he made an oration concerning the descent of the inheritance of that city, and exhorting to allegiance, which if they preserved inviolate, they might enjoy their liberty still. He was sent thither another time, when they were besieged by Francis Sforza, and suffered great extremities in defence of their liberty; at which time he entered the city with great hazard alone, for his colleagues left him at Como, and durst not go on for fear. But he departed thence without any success, and whilst the emperor sent him to Alphonso, King of Aragon, the Pope Nicolas made him Bishop of Siena, the place of his nativity. And when the emperor and Alphonso had contracted an alliance by marriage, he returned into

Germany, where he persuaded the emperor to go as soon as possible into Italy and receive his imperial crown. Upon that advice Frederick went thither, but sent Æneas before, to meet and compliment his wife Leonora, who was to come from Portugal into Tuscany. Who when he came to Siena, staid not long there, but he began to be suspected by the people, as if he designed (because the emperor was coming) to turn out the populace and make the government an aristocracy. Æneas therefore, to free the people from that jealousy, went to Talamone, where he thought Leonora would arrive; and yet the people were not satisfied. For they banished the nobility into the country for a time; and a little while after (according to the mutable humour of the mobile) gave them leave to come back again, when they understood the integrity of the emperor and the modesty of Æneas. Hence he went to Pisa, where he heard the Portuguese were landed, and brought the Infanta (who was committed to his sole care) to the emperor, then at Siena. Then going to Rome, he managed all things (whilst the emperor was crowned) both private and public. Afterward the emperor went to visit Alphonso, and left Ladislaus (a princely youth whom the Hungarians and Bohemians had often endeavoured to steal away from him) under the tutelage of Æneas, who kept him very faithfully. When the emperor came back to Rome, and had given the Pope thanks, he went for Ferrara, and having made Borsius d'Este Duke of Modena, he departed. And no sooner was he come into Germany, but he presently despatched away Æneas by the Pope's order as envoy extraordinary into Bohemia and all the cities of Austria. For there was a controversy between them and the emperor about King Ladislaus, whom they would needs have him send into their country. But the dispute was ended, and a peace made between them, so that Æneas was not long after sent to the assembly at Ratisbone, where he, in the name of the emperor, and in the presence of Philip, Duke of Burgundy, and Lewis of Bavaria, spoke of the Turks' cruelty and calamities of Christendom with such vehemency and passion, that he forced sighs and tears from every one there; but especially he seemed so far to animate the Duke of Burgundy, that a war was decreed immediately by general consent: though it was after laid aside through the ambition and folly of those who thought too well of themselves. And now Æneas was grown old, and

tired with the tedious journeys he had taken into foreign parts; wherefore he resolved to return to Siena, his native country: but the emperor easily changed his mind, by telling him that he yet designed to make war upon the Turks. Thereupon he was sent to the convention at Frankfort, where all the German princes were met together, and in a grave, long oration persuaded them with many reasons to undertake that dangerous but necessary war. And indeed he seemed to move them all exceedingly, though it is natural for those to cool soon whose affections are quickly heated. There was also a third convention in Cittanova about the same thing, wherein Æneas employed all his endeavours to bring about what he desired, exhorting every one of them both in public and private to assist in that war, upon which the safety of all Europe, the liberty of both princes and people, and the honour of Christianity, did depend. And just as he expected to do the business, there was news brought that Pope Nicolas was dead; which put all things into a new confusion. For the convention broke up, and the Germans, desirous of novelty, endeavoured to persuade the emperor no longer to obey the Pope unless he would grant them some certain demands, for they said the Germans were in a worse condition than either the French or Italians, whose servants they might be termed (unless things were altered), especially to the Italians. And truly the emperor had hearkened to those mutineers, if Æneas, with his gravity, had not interposed, and told the emperor that though one prince may possibly keep peace with another, yet there always is an immortal jealousy between prince and people. So that he thought it better for him to agree with the Pope than give way to their desires, whose minds are led by appetite and fancy, not by reason. The emperor was persuaded, and slighting the peoples' petition, sent Æneas to Calixtus. He, when he came to Rome, and had given Frederick's oath to the Pope, as the custom is, commended them both in an oration, whereof the greatest part enforced a war against the Turks, so mighty zealous he was for it. For he was a wise man, and foresaw what afterward came to pass, that the barbarians would not be quiet when they had gotten all Greece, they were so puffed up with their victory. For that reason he applied himself to make peace in Italy (before he made war with the Turk), and so exhorted the Pope to do the same with all earnestness. At that time the Sienese were

hard put to it by Count Petilian and James Picenninus, who carried on that war more upon Alphonso's account than their own. Wherefore Æneas, to make a final conclusion of it, went, by command from the Pope and at the request of his fellow-citizens and countrymen, to Alphonso, at Naples, where almost all the ambassadors of Italy were met to treat of peace, but had done nothing in it to that time. But when Æneas came, he said he would agree to a peace then without any more ado, since that person was arrived, whom he loved above all mankind. Having obtained a peace, and freed his country from the enemy, he staid with Alphonso some months, because he loved his conversation; and in that time took his opportunity to make an elegant and a large discourse to him, by which he induced him to engage by sea against the Turk. And having so done he went for Rome, with a design to go into his own country, but was stopped by the Pope, and not long after made a cardinal. Now he was in such favour with Calixtus and bore such a sway, that he persuaded him to send ambassadors to Siena, which was all in an uproar among themselves, to exhort the people to peace and unity. But whilst he was at the bath at Viterbo upon account of his health, and had begun the history of Bohemia, Calixtus died, and then he returned to Rome, where he was so much desired, that great part of the people ran out to meet him, and saluted him, prophetically, by the name of Pope. For indeed he was chosen Pope by universal consent not only of the people but the cardinals; and having received the papal crown upon the 5th of September, he went into St Peter's Church in his pontifical robes, where he gave thanks to Almighty God, and immediately betook himself first to settle the Church's patrimony, and then to endeavour the advantage of all Christendom in general. For he ended the war in Ombria (which broke out before his pontificate, under the command of that seditious innovator James Picenninus) as soon as he was Pope, and took back Assisi and Nocera from the enemy. He likewise made a truce (which seemed a difficult thing to do) between Sigismund Malatesta and King Ferdinand, that all might safely pass to Mantua, where he had ordered a general council. And having made the Prince of Colonna governor of the city in the room of Borgia, who was dead, and left Nicolas Cusa, cardinal of St Peter's in Vinculis, his legate at Rome, he departed the city

in the midst of winter, and passed through those cities which seemed more inclining to war than peace, exhorting the people to unity and concord. In fine, they met at Mantua from all quarters, where there was a great number of princes and ambassadors. For of all Europe there was no nation but sent either princes or ambassadors thither, and in that famous assembly it was enacted by Pius (who made an oration himself) that a war should be proclaimed against the Turks, which they all agreed to. He proposed methods for carrying it on, and showed the danger of Christendom; nor could they forbear to weep when they heard the calamities laid open, to which poor Christians were exposed, who lay under the bondage of barbarians. Beside he moved them to consider that the Turks having already possessed themselves of Greece and Sclavonia, would shortly get into the innermost parts of Europe. And indeed he omitted nothing that might excite their resolutions, for he was an excellent orator, and seemed to draw his arguments from new topics still, though he spake of the same thing, such an elegant and copious faculty he had. He confuted the complaints of the French and the calumnies of King Regnier (for his having confirmed Ferdinand, Alphonso's son, in the kingdom of Naples) in three several speeches. These things were transacted in the council at Mantua, whilst almost all Europe employed their thoughts and weapons in civil discords, and neglected the foreign war. The Germans arose partly against one another, and partly against the Hungarians. by whose assistance that great and necessary war might have been in a great measure managed and ended. England also was divided into two factions: whereof the one would keep their old king, whilst the other strove to banish him and set up a new one. In like manner did the Spaniards rise to help those of Barcelona, whom the King of Aragon, assisted by the French, oppressed. And lest anything should be lacking to disturb the world, Italy, the chief of Europe, laid by all thoughts of foreign war, and bent all its strength upon intestine quarrels. For at that time there was a war in Apulia, John Regnier's son endeavouring to drive Ferdinand out of his kingdom, which occasioned a double faction through all the province, whilst some favoured Ferdinand, and others Regnier. Pius, therefore, to allay these heats, dismissed the council at Mantua, and came back into Tuscany, where he easily regained Viterbo, which was in the

possession of the adverse party. Those of Ancona, who had harassed one another miserably about their bounds and limits, he quieted partly by fear and partly by reason; as likewise the Ombrians, who had imbrued their hands in each other's blood upon the like account. He also settled the state of Siena, which had been engaged in great tumults for three years before; and restored several worthy persons who had been banished thence, giving the government of that republic (as formerly) to the nobility. But he was very severe upon the Sabini for their falsehood, in supplying a common enemy with provisions, and letting him pass through their country. At Rome, he suppressed the shameful riots of ruffian-like men, and imprisoned Tiburtius, son to Angelo Massianus (who, we told you, was put to death by Nicolas for a conspiracy and hanged up by the Capitol), and his accomplices, who possessing themselves of the Church of St Maria Rotunda, would sally from thence, as from a castle, and commit outrages upon the citizens. Furthermore, he exterminated some tyrants who studied innovations, out of the Church dominions, but never meddled with anyone till he had first sent an ambassador or legate to them, to reduce them, if it were possible, by fair means. After that, he sent Frederick of Urbino, his general, with Alexander Sforza to Tagliacozzo to stop James Picenninus, who fought under Regnier, from going into Apulia to assist the French against Ferdinand. And besides, he succoured Ferdinand at Sarno, when he had like to have lost his kingdom, for fear the French, when they had once gotten that kingdom, would make use of their victory to subvert the liberty of Italy. He slighted the threat and promises of the French ambassadors that endeavoured to bring him over from Ferdinand to Regnier, and by his censures as well as arms he tamed the fury of Sigismund Malatesta, who was a feudatory of the Church, and yet contemning the league, which the Pope had made between him and Ferdinand, stormed and took all the castles, which he had given for caution, against law and reason; and having driven the Church's legate as far as Nulasture, he made war upon the Anconese. But his extravagance was corrected the year after at Sinigaglia, under the conduct of Frederick of Urbino and Neapolio Orsini, in a sharp engagement, wherein they retook Sinigaglia; the town called Fortunæ Fanum was taken by Nicolas, of Pistoja, cardinal legate of St Cecily's; and great part of Rimini taken from

him, lest he should rebel any more. Ferdinand also had the same happy success not long after at Troja, a town in Apulia, by which the Prince of Tarento and many others, who, being desirous of change, were on the French side, were so consternated, that they came all upon their knees to the king and begged pardon of him; but some few continued obstinate, whom the king afterward prosecuted so severely, that he either drove them out of the kingdom, or brought them to know themselves. When this was over, Pius, now freed from two great and troublesome wars, renewed the thoughts of his expedition into Asia, which had been so long omitted, from the time of the Mantuan Council, through the ambition and avarice of the several kings and princes: and made the King of Hungary, the Duke of Burgundy, and the Venetians his confederates, because they seemed more inclined to it than anybody else. He likewise sent nuncios with letters apostolic to the several nations of Christendom to exhort the princes and people to so great and necessary a war. Himself in the meantime went to Siena, with a design to go as soon as the season permitted to the baths at Petriolana, that seemed best for his distemper. And there he heard the Duke of Burgundy, who had vowed to come with a navy well manned, had desisted from his resolution; as also that many other princes and people, not only foreigners but of Italy, led by ambition and envy, endeavoured to frustrate that great design, because they saw that they were likely to have the richest spoils and rewards that underwent the greatest brunt of that war. Thereupon, as it became a Pope to do, he tried to persuade them by kind words at a distance; and soon after leaving the bath he went to Rome, where he lay sick for some days of the gout and a fever, and therefore could not be at Ancona upon the 7th of June, as he had publicly declared he would. But when his distemper was somewhat assuaged, he gave audience to certain ambassadors that came from the King of France and Duke of Burgundy to excuse their delay. And then calling all the cardinals before him, he appointed a day to hear the charge against the King of Bohemia, who was said to be heretically inclined; and when he had done, he was carried in a litter through Sabina, Ombria, and the Marcha, till he came to the city of Ancona. By the way he found great numbers of men that came out of Germany, Spain, and France, intending for the

war against the Turks: of whom he sent a great part, especially of the Germans (having absolved them), back into their own country, because he thought them unfit for the toil of war, and because they had not brought their pay along with them, as he had ordered in the letters apostolical. But, in the meantime, whilst he waited at Ancona for the navy that was a-building in the several ports of the Tyrrhene and Adriatic seas, and also for the Duke of Venice, his ally, he was afflicted with a tedious fever, and died in the year 1464, upon the 13th of August, about three of the clock in the night, six years wanting six days after he was made Pope. He was a man of such constancy and courage of mind, that in all his sickness, which was long and painful, he never omitted any business that concerned his understanding only, whether it were to hear the causes of several nations, to inhibit, to decree, to judge, to sign, to admonish, to chastise, or correct. And that day whereon he died, about two hours before he expired, he called the cardinals about him, and with a resolute heart and a good audible voice, exhorted them to unity in the choice of a new Pope: commending to their care (in a grave speech) the honour of God, the dignity of the Church, the war which he had undertaken against the Turks, the salvation of his soul, all his family, and especially his nephews, if they proved worthy of commendations. He desired all the sacraments of his own accord, and showed great tokens of a true Christian. But besides that, he disputed very acutely with Laurentius Roverella, Bishop of Ferrara, a learned divine, whether it were lawful for him to receive the extreme unction again, having been anointed once before at Basle, when he was sick of the plague. Nor could he be entreated by all his domestic servants to forbear saying the canonical prayers, though he were in such an agony. He repeated the Athanasian Creed with great strength and emphasis; and when he had done he said it was most true and most holy. He was not afraid to die, nor did he show any sign of trouble or inconstancy to his last breath. But indeed he may be said rather to have been killed than to have died, he was so tortured with tedious diseases. He commanded his friends to carry his body to Rome: where those that embalmed him affirmed that his heart was very sound and vivid. His funeral pomp from Ancona to Rome was made up of his family, who were all in mourning and in tears. And when that was over

he was buried in St Peter's, at the altar of St Andrew, in a tomb which was built at the charge of Francis, Cardinal of Siena, with this epitaph: "*Pius II. Pont. Max. natione Tuscus, patriâ Senensis gente Pocolhominea.*" He enjoyed the see only six years. But though his pontificate was short, yet it was full of great actions. He held a council at Mantua to maintain the faith; resisted all the opposers of the Church of Rome, both within and without Italy; he canonised Catherine of Siena, and abrogated the French Pragmatic Sanction. He restored Ferdinand of Aragon to the kingdom of Naples; increased the Church's patrimony, and made the first alum mines at Tolfa: he was an admirer of justice and religion, and an excellent orator; but he died at Ancona as he was going to the war against the Turks, where he had his navy ready, and the Duke and Senate of Venice for his fellow-soldiers in Christ. He was brought thence into the city by order of the cardinals, and buried in the place where he commanded St Andrew the Apostle's head (which was brought hither to him from Morea) to be laid. He lived fifty-eight years, nine months, and twenty-seven days; and when he died left the College of Cardinals forty-five thousand pounds, gathered out of the Church revenues, to maintain the war against the Turks. But the cardinals committed all this money and the galleys that were in the port of Ancona to Christopher Maurus, Duke of Venice, who arrived there two days before Pius died, upon condition that he should use the ships according to their directions, and should send the money to Matthias, King of Hungary, who was continually at war with the Turk. Thus died Pius, who was a personage of such true courage and singular prudence; as he seemed to be born not to ease or pleasure, but to manage the most important affairs. He always endeavoured to augment the majesty and grandeur of the pontifical chair; nor did he ever leave chastising of kings, dukes, States, usurpers, that wronged either himself or any other churchman, till he made them acknowledge their error. And, therefore, he was an enemy to Lewis, King of France, because he endeavoured to diminish the liberties of the Church, and extorted from him the Pragmatic Sanction, which was most pernicious to the see of Rome. He threatened Borsius, Duke of Modena, who, being a feudatory of the Church of Rome, yet favoured Sigismund Malatesta and the French, who were no friends to the

Church. But he censured Sigismund, Duke of Austria, most grievously, for taking Nicolas Cusanus, Cardinal of St Peter ad Vincula, and keeping him for some days in prison. He deprived Dieterus Isimbergensis, Bishop of Mayence, who hated the Church of Rome, and put another in his place; and so likewise he displaced the Archbishop of Benevento, who was upon new projects, and endeavoured to betray Benevento to the French. He likewise deprived Francis Copinus, who, in his embassy to England, assumed more power than the see apostolic had given him (to the destruction of many men); him he deprived of his bishopric of Teramo. He also made Terracino, Benevento, Sora, Arpino, and a great part of Campagnia subject to the Church. He never granted anything to any king, duke, or State, for fear or covetousness, and would reprove men severely that asked what he could not grant without detriment to the Church and dishonour to himself; and struck such terror into some lords of Italy especially, that they continued very true to their faith and allegiance But as he always plagued his public enemies, so likewise he cherished his friends as much. He dearly loved Frederick the Emperor, Matthias, King of Hungary; Ferdinand, son to Alphonso; Philip of Burgundy, Francis Sforza, and Lewis Gonzaga. He added twelve cardinals to the former number, the Cardinal of Rieti, Spoleto, Trani, Alexander Saxoferratensis, Bartholomew Roverella, James of Lucca, Francis, son to his sister Laodamia, Francis Gonzaga, son to the Marquis Lewis, all Italians. But then there were others from beyond the Alps, as Salseburgensis, Lewis Libretus of Artois, and Vergelensis. Moreover, he so ordered his method of living that he could never be accused of idleness or sloth. He rose as soon as it was day for his health's sake, and, having said his prayers very devoutly, went about his worldly affairs. When he had done his morning's work, and walked about the gardens for his recreation, he went to dinner, in which he used an indifferent sort of diet, not curious and dainty; for he seldom bid them get him this or that particular dish, but whatever they set before him he ate of. He was very abstemious, and when he did drink wine, it was always diluted with water, and pleasant rather than rough upon the palate. After meals he either discoursed or disputed half-an-hour with his chaplains, and then going into his bedchamber he took a nap, after which he went to prayers again,

and then wrote or read as long as his business would permit. The same also he did after supper; for he both read and dictated till midnight as he lay in his bed, nor did he sleep above five or six hours. He was a short man, grayhaired before his time, and had a wrinkled face before he was old. In his aspect he bore severity tempered with good nature, and in his garb was neither finical nor negligent, but so contrived it as to be consistent with the pains which he usually took. He could patiently endure both hunger and thirst, because he was naturally very strong; and yet his long journeys, frequent labour, and watchings had impaired him. His usual diseases were the cough, the stone, and gout, wherewith he was often so tormented, that nobody could say he was alive but by his voice. And even in his sickness he was very accessible, but sparing of words, and unwilling to deny any man's petition. He laid out all the money he got together, and did neither love gold nor contemn it; but would never be by whilst it was told out or laid up. He seemed not to cherish the wits of his age, because three grievous wars which he had undertaken had so exhausted the pontifical treasury that he was oftentimes much in debt; and yet he preferred many learned men to places both in the court and Church. He would willingly hear an oration or a poem, and always submitted his own writings to the judgment of the learned. He hated liars and sycophants, was soon angry and soon pleased again. He pardoned those that reviled or scoffed at him, unless they injured the see apostolic, the dignity whereof he always had such a respect for, as upon that account often to fall out with great kings and princes. He was very kind to his household servants, for those that he found in an error, through folly or ignorance, he admonished like a father. He never reproved anyone for speaking or thinking ill of him; because in a free city he desired everybody should utter their minds. And when one told him that he had an ill report, he replied, Go into the Campo di Fiore, and you will hear a great many talk against me. If at any time he had a mind to change the air of Rome for a better, he went, especially in the summer, to Tivoli, or his own country, Siena. But he was mightily pleased with the retirement of an abbey in Siena, which is very delightful, and cool, too, by reason of its situation and the shady groves that are about it. He frequented the baths at Macerata and Petriolana for his health's sake. He used

thin clothes, and his expenses in silver looked more frugal than princelike. For his whole delight (when he had leisure) was in writing and reading: because he valued good books more than precious stones; for in them he said there were plenty of gems. He so far contemned a splendid table, that he went oftentimes to fountains, groves, and country recesses for his own humour, where he entertained himself, not like a Pope, but an honest, humble rustic." Nor were there wanting some who found fault with this his frequent change of places, especially his courtiers, because no Pope had ever done so before him, unless in time of war, or of a plague. But he always slighted their cavils, and said, that for all his pleasure, he never omitted anything that befitted the dignity of a Pope, or tended to the good of the court. In all places he sealed, heard causes, censured, answered, asserted, and confuted, to give full satisfaction to all sorts of men. He could not eat willingly alone, and therefore invited either the Cardinal of Spoleto, of Trani, or of Pavia commonly to dine or sup with him. At supper he used to discourse of learning, and rubbed up his old notions of the ancients, showing how commendable each of them was in this or that particular. He frequently exhorted his relations to virtue, and deterred them from vice, by recounting the good or ill actions of others. Augustine Patritio was his chief reader, and amanuensis. He was also sometimes pleased to hear wit, especially when he had nothing to do, and therefore he had one Grecus, a Florentine, who would mimic and ridicule anyone's behaviour, garb, or way of speech with great diversion to the audience. He was an honest, upright, plain man, without fallacy or guile. And so zealous a Christian he was, that there appeared no colour of hypocrisy in him. He frequently confessed, and received the communion, and at divine service either performed the priestly office himself, or assisted at the ceremonies He always contemned dreams, portents, prodigies, lightning, and the like. There was no sign in him of fear or inconstancy: but he seemed as little elevated at his good, as dejected at his ill fortune. He often reproved his friends for cowards and sneaking fellows, that they should be afraid of telling him what mischances they had (as it sometimes happens) in the war; because, he said, those things might have been remedied if he had known of them in time. He never forsook his allies, either upon account of charges or fear of his enemies

He went to war with an ill will, but fought for the Church and religion when he was forced to it. He was mightily pleased with building, and at his charge were the steps in the Vatican Church repaired, the portico of it made glorious and strong, and he had a design to carry away the rubbish from before the church door and pave the Piazza. He was about to make a portico, from whence the Pope might bless the people. He built a castle at Tivoli before people thought he had begun it; and at Siena he built his countrymen a portico of square stone very high and very fine. As likewise he made Corsiniano (which he called Pienza, from his own name, Pius) a city, and built there a noble church with a cupola, together with a fine house. He erected also a tomb for his father and mother at Siena in St Francis's Church, with this distitch for an epitaph:

> "*Sylvius hic jaceo, conjux Victoria mecum est,*
> *Filius hoc clausit marmore Papa Pius*"

He had four nephews by his sister; of which the two youngest, through his authority, and the respect that was shown him, were made knights by the King of Spain. The eldest, who had married King Ferdinand's daughter, was made Duke of Malphi, and the second, whom Pius (as I told you before) had made a cardinal, lives yet in such repute of integrity and virtue, that there is nothing wanting in him that is required in an excellent person: being adorned with wit, manners, policy, religion, modesty, and gravity. But to return to Pius, who never omitted his studies though he were advanced to such an eminent station When he was a youth indeed, and not yet initiated into divinity, he set out poems that were rather light and jocular, than serious and grave; and yet sometimes even in them he was elevated, nor did he want satirical sharpness amidst his merry conceits. There are epigrams of his extant that are full of wit, and he is said to have written about three thousand verses, which were lost most part of them at Basle. The remainder of his life he wrote in prose only, his grand affairs rather inclining him to it; but he also loved a mixed style, more fit for philosophy. He set forth several books of dialogues about the power of the council at Basle, about the rise of Nile, of hunting, of destiny, of God's prescience, and of the heresy in Bohemia. He left an imperfect dialogue which he began against the Turks in defence of Christianity. He digested his epistles into their several occasions and seasons

when they were written; and those that he wrote when he was a layman, a clergy, a bishop, or Pope he put into distinct tomes, wherein he excites kings, princes, and others to engage in the war for religion. There is an epistle of his extant which he wrote to the Turk to persuade him from Mahometanism to the Christian faith. He also wrote a book about the life of courtiers; as likewise a grammar for Ladislaus, the young King of Hungary. He farthermore composed thirty-two orations, exhorting kings, princes, and commonwealths to peace, and in defence of religion, to promote the quiet and concord of the whole world. He perfected the history of Bohemia, but left that of Austria imperfect. And though he was upon a history of all the remarkable actions in his time, yet he was never able for his business to finish it. He wrote twelve books and began the thirteenth of things done by himself. His style was soft and easy, in which he made several excellent and pertinent sermons For he could readily move the affections with handsome and graceful expressions. He very aptly describes situations of places and rivers, assuming various ways of eloquence as the occasion required. He was well acquainted with antiquity; nor could any town be mentioned but he could tell its rise and situation: besides that he would give an account in what age famous men flourished. He would sometimes take notice of mimics for his pleasure: and left many sayings behind him, of which I thought fit to add some to this account of his life, to wit: That the divine nature was better understood by believing than by disputing. That all sects, though confirmed by human authority, yet wanted reason. That the Christian ought to be received upon its own credit, though it had never been backed with miracles. That there were three persons in the Godhead, not proved to be so by reason, but by considering who said so. That those men who pretended to measure the heavens and the earth were rather bold than certain what they did was right. That to find out the motion of the stars had more pleasure in it than profit. That God's friends enjoyed both this life and that to come. That without virtue there was no true joy. That as a covetous man is never satisfied with money, so a learned man should not be with knowledge; but that he who knew never so much might yet find somewhat to be studied. That common men should value learning as silver, noblemen as gold, and princes as jewels That good physicians did not seek the money but the health

of the party diseased. That a florid speech did not move wise men, but fools. That those laws are sacred which restrain licentiousness. That the laws had power over the commonalty, but were feeble to the greater sort. That great controversies were decided by the sword and not by the laws. A citizen should look upon his family as subject to the city, the city to his country, his country to the world, and the world to God. That the chief place with kings was slippery. That as all rivers run into the sea, so do all vices into courts. That flatterers draw kings whither they please. That kings hearken to none more easily than to sycophants. That the tongue of a flatterer was a king's greatest plague. That a king who would trust nobody was good for nothing, and he that believed everybody was no better. That it is necessary he that governs many should himself be ruled by many. That he deserved not the name of a king who measured the public by his private advantage. That he who neglected holy duties did not deserve the church revenue, nor a king his taxes, that did not constant justice. He said those that went to law were the birds; the court, the field; the judge, the net; and the lawyers, the fowlers. That men ought to be presented to dignities and not dignities to the men. That some men had offices and did not deserve them, whilst others deserved them and had them not. That the burthen of a Pope was heavy, but he was happy who bore it stoutly. That an illiterate bishop was like an ass. That ill physicians killed the body, and ignorant priests the soul. That a wandering monk was the devil's bond-slave. That virtue had enriched the clergy, but vice made them poor. That there was great reason for the prohibiting of priests to marry, but greater for allowing it again. That no treasure was preferable to a faithful friend. That life was like a friend, and envy like death. That he cherishes an enemy who pardons his son too often. That a covetous man never pleases anybody but by his death. That men's faults are concealed by liberality, and discovered by avarice. That it was a slavish vice to tell lies. That the use of wine had augmented the cares and the distempers of mankind. That a man ought to take as much wine as would raise and not overwhelm his soul. That lust did sully and stain every age of man, but quite extinguish old age. That gold itself, and jewels could not purchase content. That it was pleasant to the good, but terrible to the bad, to die. That a noble death was to be

preferred before a dishonourable life in the opinion of all philosophers.

And this is all or most that can be written of Pius: except I add, that he canonised St Catherine of Siena; and laid up St Andrew's head, that was sent from Morea to Rome, in St Peter's Church with great veneration, and processions performed by the clergy and people, in a chapel built on purpose: after he had cleared the church in that place especially, and removed the sepulchres of some Popes and cardinals, that took up too much room.

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## PAUL II.

### 1464-1471.

PAUL the Second, formerly called Peter Barbo, a Venetian, (whose father's name was Nicolas, and his mother's Polyxena) cardinal priest of St Mark's, was made Pope August 30, 1464: being Pope Eugenius' nephew by his sister, he was just going as a merchant to sea (an employment not ungenteel among the Venetians, and not disapproved of by Solon), and having carried his scritore, and other implements on board, he heard that his uncle Gabriel Condelmerius was chosen Pope. Whereupon he stayed ashore, and at the request of his friends and his elder brother, Paul Barbo, applied himself to his book though he was pretty well in years, under the discipline and tutelage of James Ricionius, who used to commend his diligence. He had also other masters, but made no great proficiency, considering his age; however, he preferred them all when he came to be Pope (excepting only Ricion), to show that it was none of their faults he was not made a scholar. But Paul Barbo, who was a stout and a wise man, and knew his brother's nature inclined him rather to ease than business, entreated Eugenius (whom he went to visit at Florence) to send for Peter, and give him some ecclesiastical preferment. He did so, and Peter was made first Archdeacon of Bologna, with which not long after he held the Bishopric of Cervia *in commendam*, and was made a protonotary; one of that rank who receive the greatest fees. In this condition he lived for some years, till at last he was made

a cardinal at the same time with Alouisius, a physician of Padua, whom they afterwards called patriarch and chamberlain: which was done at the request of some friends of Eugenius's, who desired to have a man that might thwart Alouisius upon occasion. And indeed it happened afterwards that they grew such enemies as never were known, by the insinuations of others especially whose interest it was to foment the quarrel. For Peter was vexed that he should be inferior to any man about Eugenius, since he was his nephew, and of a patrician family in Venice. Upon this account he fell out most grievously with Francis Condelmerius, the vice-chancellor, who was Eugenius's cousin-german: and when he died, he turned all his fury upon the patriarch, though they two had been often seemingly reconciled by the intercession of friends. Hereupon they were such enemies to one another in several Popes' reigns, that they did not spare each other's either estate, or honour but mutually reviled each other in words, which I will not relate, lest I should seem to believe them. But when Eugenius was dead, and Nicolas the Fifth in his place, he prevailed so far upon him by his kindness and flattery, that he not only got the uppermost place of all his nation in Nicolas's Court, but by assistance of Nicolas's brother, did so animate him against Alouisius, that he retrenched the chamberlain's office. For Peter Barbo was naturally fair-spoken, and could feign good-nature, when occasion served. But he was sometimes so mean-spirited, that when he could not obtain what he aimed at by praying, entreating, and requesting, he would join tears to his petitions to make them the sooner believed. And therefore Pope Pius used sometimes to call him the godly Mary, by way of joke. He also used this wheedle with Calixtus, and persuaded him to send Alouisius with certain galleys against the Turk; showing him by argument that such a person was fittest for such an expedition, because he had not only been a commander formerly, but had stoutly defended the Church patrimony against all its enemies. Peter being at last delivered from that eyesore, made Calixtus always so far of his opinion, that he used nobody's advice more than his, as long as he lived. So that he easily obtained of the Pope whatever he asked either for himself or his friends. For he was ready to do friendships and kindnesses for any man whom he undertook to protect or assist, not only before the great men in general, but with the

Pope also. Yea such was his humanity, that he would visit his domestics that were sick (if they were men of any account) and apply remedies to them. For he had always at home medicaments brought from Venice, with oil, treacle, or other things fit for medicines; and some of these he often sent to the sick. He took care that the wills of sick people should be entrusted with himself rather than anybody, to dispose of as he thought fit; for if anything in them concerned him, he presently sold part of the goods by auction, and turned it into money for his own use. He was pleased with the conversation of some particular Romans, whom he often invited to dine with him, for his diversion: and was often very well pleased at the wit, mimicry, gibes, taunts, and civil affronts that came from Priabisius and Francis Malacaro. By this means he engaged the respect of the citizens of Rome and even the courtiers also. But that he might not seem powerful at home only, he endeavoured to make an interest abroad too. For he went into Campagna di Roma to appease certain people that were at variance about their confines; and whilst he endeavoured to reconcile the Count d'Aversa to Neapolio Orsini, he had like to have been taken and put into prison for words which the count resented very highly. Wherefore he went away without his errand, and from that time always showed himself Aversa's enemy. After that Calixtus died, into whose room Pius succeeded, when he, endeavouring to change his bishopric of Vincenza for that of Padua, by troublesome importunities and requests, so far provoked Pope Pius and the Venetians that they turned out his brother Paul from being a senator, and interdicted him from enjoying any Church benefice if he would not alter his mind, at which the man was so angry that he waited only for a time to revenge himself, and was very invective in the meanwhile against those that obstructed his design. But when Pius was dead and he put in his place, he no sooner came to the honour but immediately he turned out all the clerks of the breves which Pius had put in, pretending they were either useless or unlearned: whether he had so promised, or that he hated Pius's acts and decrees, nobody can tell. For he stripped them of their goods and preferments without hearing what they could say for themselves, whom he ought to have invited from all parts of the world with encouragements and rewards; that college being then full of good and learned men. For there were men very skilful

in the laws, both Divine and human; as likewise poets and orators, who were as great ornaments to the court as that was honour to them; yet Paul turned them all out, though it had been ordered by letters apostolic and the judges of the pontifical treasury, that no man who bought his place honestly should be put out of it. And yet those that were concerned did what they could to change his mind: and amongst the rest I entreated him that it might be referred to the public judges, whom they call Auditors of the Rota. At which he looked upon me with a stern aspect, and told me, "Do you," said he, "refer me to judges, as if you were ignorant that all the laws were laid up in my breast? I am resolved," said he; "let them all be gone whither they will, I value them not; I am Pope, and I may do as I please, either in rescinding or approving the acts of others." When we heard this severe sentence, we travelled about and strove to roll an unmovable stone, attending persons of the court day and night, and vainly beseeching every mean servant to procure us admission to the Pope. For we were rejected with reproachful language, as if we had been excommunicated persons or pagans. But notwithstanding we attended twenty nights together; because he did nothing in a manner, but what he did by night. At last I was so concerned for the disgrace which he put upon us, that (seeing I and my associates could not come to speak with him) I was resolved to send him a letter, which I wrote to this purpose: "If you had power to strip us of all we had just and lawful right to, then it ought to be in our power to complain of the injury and disgrace that you have done us. And, therefore, seeing we are rejected by you with so much ignominy, we will appeal to all the kings and princes far and near, and desire them to convene a council, where you may be forced to show thy reason why thou robbest us of our livelihoods." When he had read the letter, he sent for Platina, as a traitor; put him into prison and fettered him; and then sent Theodore, Bishop of Treviso, to examine him. He soon concluded me guilty for dispersing libels against Paul and mentioning a council. The first objection I thus refuted, to wit: "That those were called libels in which the name of the writer was concealed; but my name was at the bottom of the letter, and therefore it was no libel. And as to my making mention of a council, that I did not think so great a fault, seeing the fundamentals of true faith were established by the

holy fathers in synods, which had been sown by our Saviour and his disciples, to the end that all, both great and small, might live peaceably together and have right done them. And that, by the laws of Rome, not only private, but public, persons were to give an account of their lives and how they discharged their trusts." But when I could do no good this way, I was forced to be content and lie in massy chains in the middle of winter, without any fire, and in a high tower, which was exposed to all the winds that blew, for four months together. At last Paul was tired with the importunity of Francis Gonzaga, Cardinal of Mantua, and freed me from the noisome prison, though I could hardly stand upon my legs; and withal he bids me not stir from the city, "For," says he, "if you go into India, Paul will fetch you back." I obeyed his commands, and stayed three years in the city, hoping to find some remedy for my misfortunes. But Paul, when he was crowned, according to custom, remembering that the canons regular were formerly turned out of St Giovanni Laterano by Calixtus, though Eugenius had placed them there, he recalled them to perform Divine service apart from the canons secular. And because he had a mind to extirpate the name of seculars from that place, if any one of them died he put nobody into his place; or if any benefice were vacant, he made them renounce their canonships, and so translated them to other churches, till at length the profits of that church, being reduced into one body, might satisfy the canons regular without any charge to him, he being before forced to keep them, they were so poor. But by this means Paul did much estrange the citizens' minds and affections from him, because (as they said) he gave those revenues, which their forefathers had settled (instead of citizens), to foreigners. Nor was Paul content to do so, but he spoke to some canons by themselves, and threatened them till they quitted their canonries. Some, indeed, contemned his menaces, and expected an opportunity of vindicating their liberty, which happened not till he was dead. It was now reported that the Turks had taken most part of Epirus, and were coming into Sclavonia, he therefore sent nuncios immediately to all kings and princes, to advise them to compose their civil discords and make war against the Turk, the common enemy; but there was nothing done in it, because they were up to the ears in blood, one among another—the Germans in one part and the English in another, some

of whom desired a new king, others would retain their old one. And then the Spanish and French princes feared their king's power, who attempted to bring them to a total subjection. But more than this, the King of Bohemia's apostacy vexed Paul very much, in that he withdrew himself from the Church of Christ by little and little; and therefore he designed to send the King of Hungary with an army against him, if the war which he had undertaken against the Turks would give him leisure; and that he could compose the difference between the king and the emperor. For when Ladislaus, King of Hungary, and his nephew were dead without issue, the emperor himself pretended a right to that kingdom which Matthias, son to the Vaivod, was in possession of. Thereupon Paul thought it best to defer that matter till another time, and applied himself to make up some breaches between certain citizens of Rome. For there was a quarrel between James, son to John Alberinus, and Felix, nephew to Anthony Capharellus; and therefore he sent for the two old gentlemen, the father and uncle of them, and caused them to put in sureties that they would be friends, though they stood out a good while. But James, son to Albernus, who could not endure that any affront should be put upon his father, attempted soon after to murder Anthony Capharellus, and gave him several such grievous wounds that he left him for dead At which Paul was very angry that Alberinus's son had broken his father's oath, and therefore he demolished their houses, confiscated all their goods, and banished them from the city; but he afterwards recalled them and took them into favour, restoring all their goods; and made peace between the parties after they had been both some time in prison. In the year 1465 Alouisius Patavinus, the Pope's chamberlain, died. He was cardinal priest of St Laurence, a very rich man, and prudent in the management of business, but not so wise towards his latter end: in that he left most of his estate to his two brothers, who were called Scarampi; men that were good gentlemen, but yet not worthy of such a vast fortune as he had got out of the Church revenues (I know what people thought), whereupon Paul, who had given him free leave to make a will and bequeath it to whom he pleased, seized upon the estate, took the Scarampi, who had fled, and kept them (though in no scandalous place) till he had those things brought him which were carried away to Florence; which

done, he freed the Scarampi, to whom he gave a good share, and was more liberal to the other legatees than the testator himself had been. And thus Alouisius's estate, which he got with great industry and preserved with greater (as if in the strength of so much wealth he could have lived Methuselah's age), was seized and distributed by one with whom he had had so many quarrels, ill words, and animosities, and before whom he would have chosen the Turk for his executor. Nor was Divine providence thus satisfied, but was pleased that his body also, which was already buried, should be made a prey, for the grave was opened in the night-time by those to whom he had given the revenues of St Laurence in Damaso, and he stripped of a ring and all his clothes. But indeed Paul, when he knew of it, was very angry at them. About that time Frederick, a fine youth, son to Ferdinand, who, passing to Milan to fetch Francis Sforza's daughter, his brother's wife, to Naples, arrived at Rome, where he was met by the nobility and Roderick, the vice chancellor, and kindly entertained by the Pope himself, who presented him with a rose, which the Popes used to give to some Christian prince every year. Ferdinand, now minding to punish those of his own kingdom who had revolted from him when he was engaged with the French, sent some forces to set upon the Duke of Sora; but the Pope was desirous to divert that war, and therefore sent the Archbishop of Milan thither with all speed to pray him that he would send those men to him (as he was obliged by his tenure to do), because he had a design to destroy and take off the Count Aversa's sons that had denied obedience to the Church. For about that time the Count Aversa died, when Paul was made Pope, and his body was brought to Rome, where it was buried in St Mary's the Great. The king, who was Deiphobus's bitter enemy, as having been attempted by him with plots, poison, and open force in the late war, gave order to the captains of his army cited, to go where the Pope bade them, upon the first summons. He had Deiphobus and Francis to him before, and gave them charge to clear the road of thieves (who used to rob travellers at the very gates of Rome, as it were), and that they should restore Caprarola (a town so called) to the son of Securanza, the greatest part of whose estate they had possessed themselves of They not only refused to do either, but threatened him, and bragged that they were Count Aversa's sons, nor would

they spare anyone that gave them a provocation. Paul, therefore, having privately prepared all things that were necessary for a war, with assistance of the king's forces, he surprised and subdued them within fourteen days after he attacked them, reducing nine castles under the jurisdiction of the Church, of which some were so well fortified both by art and nature that they seemed impregnable. Deiphobus, fearing lest if he were taken he should be sent to the king, made his escape; but Francis, his brother, and his son were taken, and kept five years in Castle St Angelo, till, upon the creation of Sixtus, they were freed. And hence afterward arose great enmity between the Pope and king; when Ferdinand demanded that Paul would remit the tribute which he was to pay the Church, as a reward for his great merits: and would retrench or take off part of it for the future, seeing his uncle enjoyed the kingdom of Sicily, though he paid tribute for that and Naples too: and told him that, he ought to consider his deserts and what might happen; for that he had always some battalions in arms, not more upon his own than upon the Pope's account, as he found in the late war against the Aversans. Paul, on the other hand, recounted the Church's merits toward Ferdinand; and so they spun out the debate a long time by these kind of wranglings, each of them seeking an opportunity to recover their right. In the meantime the king was very cautious how he caused any new commotions, because he feared James Picenninus's power, who had Sulmona, in Abruzzo, and some other towns in his possession. whom afterward his father-in-law, Francis Sforza, sent to the king, who gave him his word that he should come and go in safety when he pleased. But all things did not go according to James's expectation: for he was taken at Naples by Ferdinand, as so was his son, and there thrown into prison, and not long after put to death; though there was a false report given out that he fell down in the prison and broke his leg as he was inconsiderately staring through the window to see the king's galleys that came from Ischia, with victory over the French. There were who thought him still alive: which I can never believe, because there was no man in all Italy more fit (if you look upon him as a soldier) to subvert the government of King Ferdinand. The Duke of Milan's daughter, when she heard of it, tarried by the way at Siena, as she was going to her husband at Naples, to persuade the world, that her

father was not any way concerned with Ferdinand in contriving the death of Picenninus. But what people thought of it we very well know. There were likewise some that said the Pope knew of it beforehand, because at that time the Archbishop of Milan went often from the Pope to the king, and from the king back again; and because Paul said, when he heard of his imprisonment, that the judge of appeals was taken off. But that of Virgil is too true:

> "*Nescia mens hominum fati, sortisque futuræ.*"
> Little do men their future fortune know.

For Paul could not have made use of any one so fit to curb Ferdinand as James Picenninus was, if he had been alive, when their debate arose about the tribute, for which a war was like to have been proclaimed. For when he had kept his daughter-in-law's and his son's wedding, and that thereby and by the death of James his kingdom was settled, Ferdinand was instant with the Pope, that he would retrench the tribute, and give him back certain towns which belonged to the kingdom but were in possession of the Church. Thereupon Paul sent to him Bartholomew Roverella, cardinal priest of St Clement's, as legate; who did in some measure satisfy the king. And at that time, I believe, they both feared lest the eclipses of the sun and moon, which all men were then astonished at, might portend some changes in government. Nor can you think the heavenly bodies have no efficacy; for the year after, Francis Sforza, Duke of Milan and Genoa, died. For he had gotten Genoa two years before, being after a long war surrendered by the citizens. For they having rejected the French government which they had formerly courted, killed six thousand of the French under the nose of King Renatus, who came with some galleys well armed to retrieve the city that had now revolted from the French. When Francis Sforza, Duke of Milan, was dead, Paul summoned the cardinals to consult what was to be done. They all concluded that he must send letters and nuncios to all the princes of Italy and to all states, to persuade them against innovations, and to maintain the established peace; especially at that unhappy time when we were so threatened by the Turk, the common enemy. And afterward he sent the Bishop of Conca to Milan, to persuade that state to have regard to the allegiance they had sworn to Galeazzo, Francis's

son. At that time Galeazzo was absent in France, whither his father had sent him with an army, to assist King Lewis against the princes of his kingdom that acknowledged not his authority. For Francis was bound by the league he made with him when he possessed himself of Genoa, to supply him with some auxiliaries; besides, the allegiance which they had contracted obliged him to it, for he had married the sister of the queen and the Duke of Savoy. When he heard of his father's death, he relinquished the war which he engaged in upon the king's account against the Duke of Burgundy, and going from Lyons, returned with a small retinue and in a disguise to his own country, where he peaceably possessed himself of his paternal inheritance by the help of his mother, who kept the people in obedience till he came. But Paul, when the affairs of Italy were thus composed, hearing that the Rhodian soldiers were ready to starve, he summoned the grand master (and the great clergymen) to Rome to consider of a relief, who, after frequent meetings in St Peter's, died for grief and age, and was buried in that church, not far from St Andrew's Chapel: in whose room Charles Orsini was chosen and sent immediately to defend the island. In the meantime, when Paul heard that there were a great many heretics in Tagliacozza, he having heard their cause, severely branded the lord of the place, eight men and six women (which were caught and brought before him), being those that were most obstinate; but dealt more favourably with those that confessed their error and begged pardon. They were of those perverse sort of heretics who say, there never was any true vicar of Christ since St Peter, but who had imitated Christ's poverty. Then he increased the number of cardinals, and made ten at one time, of which number were Francis of Savona, general of the Order of Minors; M. Barbo, Bishop of Vincenza, whose advice he always took in great affairs; Oliver, Archbishop of Naples; Amicus, Bishop of Aquila; and Theodore Montserrat; and the rest were partly French, Hungarians, and English Having thus augmented the college, he applied himself wholly to settle the peace of Italy. For certain Florentines, who were banished by Peter Medicis's faction in a civil tumult (as Detesalvus Neronius, Angelus Accioiolus, and Nicolas Soderinus) had persuaded Bartholomew of Bergamo, who had a good army of horse and foot, to march into Tuscany, and restore them and all the other banished persons to

their country, the Venetians, underhand, lending their assistance; these seemed to be able and to design to overthrow the state of Italy at first dash. But Galeazzo, Duke of Milan, with the forces of the king and of the Florentine people posting himself in his way, he slackened his march and endeavoured to get the better rather by protracting the war than by fighting. One fierce battle, however, under the conduct of the Count of Urbino, they fought in the territories of Bologna, near a town called Ricardina, where no doubt the Bergamese had been utterly ruined if Galeazzo had been there; but he was gone to Florence a little before to settle matters relating to the war. Those that were present at this battle say that it was fought with the greatest obstinacy and the most numerous slaughters of any in our age. But now the Venetians bethink themselves for their own safety, rather than that of the Bergamese, and though they sent some forces to his assistance, yet they sought earnestly a peace, and referred the whole matter to the Pope, who also, lying under great apprehensions if the King of Naples and Duke of Milan should obtain a complete victory, urged on the peace too. It was indeed the opinion of many men of understanding that the Pope was not altogether against Bartholomew's design, knowing that if an alteration were made in the government of Florence, he might with greater facility make war upon Ferdinand, whom he so hated, that he endeavoured to raise him up more enemies in Italy. Having hereupon called together the ambassadors of the several princes, he meditated a peace upon these terms · that each party should restore what they had taken in the war; that Bartholomew should retire with his forces into Lombardy, and that for the rest, the conditions of that peace should be observed which had been made at Lodi between Francis Sforza and the Venetians. One point was yet to be disputed, whether the Duke of Savoy and his brother Philip should be included in this peace, who that year taking pay of the Venetians, had ravaged Galeazzo's country with their forces. Galeazzo denied to yield to it, professing no man should ever be his ally and friend who was an enemy to the King of France. But Paul, with promises and fair words, made shift to get Galeazzo's ambassador to sign it contrary to his master's order, which so enraged Galeazzo that he banished the said ambassador, Lorenzo da Pesaro, and so infested the Savoyards that they were forced to sue for peace, which by the inter-

cession of the Queen of France and Duchess of Milan, both sisters to the Duke of Savoy, they at last procured upon conditions proposed by the King of France. Affairs thus settled, Paul had a little leisure, and instituted sumptuous plays and made noble feasts after the ancient manner for the people of Rome, Vianesius of Bologna, vice-chamberlain to his Holiness, taking care of them. He proposed eight cloaks to be run for each day in the carnival: old men, middle-aged, young men, nay Jews took their fortune in the races; as also did even horses, mares, asses, buffaloes, to the incredible pleasure of the spectators The race was from Domitian's Arch to St Mark's Church, where the Pope himself stood to behold it with great satisfaction; who after the sport was over gave to every boy that ran (daubed all over with dirt) a carlin (a piece of money). But Paul, amidst all this public jollity, was on a sudden seized with a terror unexpected; for news was brought him that several young men, whose ring-leader was one Callimaco, had formed a plot against him; and the narrative of it was no sooner made out to him, when (he being already almost dead with fear) comes a fellow that called himself the Philosopher, a sad wretch and a banished man, who (first begging pardon for his life and liberty to live in his country) shams a story upon him that he saw in the Wood of Velitre, one Luca Tozzo, a citizen of Rome, but banished, with a great number of other banditti, and that they were just coming upon him. This made Paul tremble for fear, apprehending that now, being attacked both without and within, he should surely be undone; and therefore he clapt up a great many both citizens and courtiers. Vianesius gave him occasions of fear, and so did anyone about him who from a turn of affairs could probably expect an augmentation either of dignity or estate. They broke up men's houses without distinction, and dragged to prison anybody they suspected; and lest I should have missed my share in so great a calamity, they came by night and set a guard about my house, broke open the windows and doors, and seized my servant Demetrius, a Lucchese, who told them I supped that night with the Cardinal of Mantua, hither then they fly, and taking me in his chamber, they bring me before Paul, who as soon as he saw me, "Are you too," says he, "in the plot with Callimaco against me?" But I, conscious of my innocence, answered him so fearlessly that no sign of guilt appeared in me. He being negligently dressed

and looking pale, urged me still, and sometimes threatened me with torments and sometimes with death unless I would confess. I, seeing all places full of outrage and tumults, and fearing lest we should suffer mischief by reason of the terror and rage that I saw had possessed them, showed many reasons "why I could not believe Callimaco would attempt nor so much as to think of any such design, being without cunning, an ill speaker, unactive, regardless, without wealth, wanting forces, dependants, ammunition, and beside being almost blind, more drowsy than P. Lentulus, and more unfit for action, by means of his corpulence, than L. Crassus. Moreover, he was no citizen of Rome that he should concern himself for the liberty of his country, nor was he a prelate that upon the taking off of Paul he should expect the papacy. What could Callimaco do? What dare he do? Was he good either at discourse or action? Had he listed any men to assist him in bringing about so important a design; unless you will make Glaucus and Petreius, the companions of his flight, to be other Gabinii and Statilii." At this Paul turns him to Vianesius, and looking sternly upon me says he, "this man is to be forced with the rack to confess the truth, for he understands the true art of plotting." Would to God Paul had dealt more considerately with me, he had not then applied tortures to me. For when the truth is to be gathered from circumstances, the matter of fact not being sufficiently made out, then those actions are to be taken notice of that either preceded or ensued upon the enterprise; the life of the complotter is to be considered and his way of living, his ambition and greediness, either of wealth or honour, and what he had before talked or written or done that looked that way. But Paul, without regard had to any of these, clapped us all up in jail: and yet taking advice of some who knew the thing well enough, and knew that Luca Tozzo had never departed a foot from the city of Naples to create so great a commotion with such danger to himself, he recalled a proclamation he had published three days before, wherein he had proposed rewards to them that should bring his traitor Luca to him either alive or dead, not discharging however the Quadratii, whom he had seized and tortured upon suspicion of the same. He designed it should be thought that there was something in it yet undiscovered, lest he should be charged with levity. But Paul being rid of that fear, begins to think of us; and sends into the

castle Vianesius, John Francisco, Sanga of Chiozza, and one of his guard, to force us with any kind of torture to confess what we knew nothing of. The first and second day many were put to the rack, of whom a great part died of their pains under the hands of the executioner. You would have taken Castle St Angelo for Phalaris's bull, the hollow vault did so resound with the cries of those miserable young men. Lucidus, as innocent a man as any in the world, suffered the rack; as did Marsus Demetrius, and Augustinus Campanus, a hopeful young man, and an honour to his age for wit and learning, who I think died soon after of pain and anguish. The tormentors were yet not satisfied, though weary, having tortured twenty men in those two days, but sent for me to take my turn too. The executioners set themselves to their business, the instruments of torture were ready, I was stripped, torn and used like a murderer or a thief, whilst Vianesius sat like another Minos upon a tapestry seat, as if he had been at a wedding, or rather at Atreus and Tantalus's feast; a man (I say) in holy orders, whom the ecclesiastical canons forbid to be inquisitors by torture upon laymen, lest if death follow, as it often does, they should become irregular (as they term it) and profane. And to add to my misery, while wretched I hung on the rack in torment, he played with a jewel that Sanga had, asking him of what girl he had got that love-token; and then, the love-talk being over, he turns to me and bids me give him a full narrative of the conspiracy or rather sham plot contrived by Callimaco, and to tell him why Pomponio, writing to me from Venice, should call me Holy Father. "What," says he, "the conspirators had agreed to make you Pope!" Beside he examined me whether I had not sent letters by Pomponio to the emperor or any other Christian prince in order to raise a schism or procure a council? I answered, that I never was a party in the counsels of Callimaco, for there was an old grudge between us; that I knew not why Pomponio should call me Holy Father, himself could best tell, who, he said, was to be brought prisoner quickly; as for the popedom, they need not trouble their heads about me, I having been always content with a private life; that I never sent any letter to the emperor, or made use of Pomponio to that purpose, which also might be known from him. At last, having a little pleased but not satisfied himself with my tortures, he ordered me to be let down, that I might undergo torments much greater in the

evening. I was carried half dead into my chamber, but not long after, the inquisitors having dined, and drunk lustily, I was fetched again, and Lorenzo, Archbishop of Spoleto, was there. They asked me then what discourse it was that I had with Sigismund Malatesta, who was then in the city? I said the discourse we had was only concerning the ancient and modern learning, way of fighting, and famous men, or such like things as are the common subjects of talk. Vianesius then threatened me bitterly with yet greater tortures, unless I would confess the truth, and told me he was to come again the next day, advising me in the meantime to consider where I was and whom I had to do withal. So I was carried back to my bed-chamber, where I was seized with such extreme pain, that I had rather have died than endured, all the aches of my shaken and battered limbs coming afresh upon me. But I was not a little refreshed by the kindness of Angelo Bufalo, a knight of Rome, who had been committed to prison a year before by Paul, because his son Marcellus had killed Francis Cappocio, which was charged to be done by his instigation. This Angelo and his nephew Francis being my chamber-fellows, did with their own hands assist me both with food and physic, otherwise I had died of pain and want. Two days after, Paul's physician, Christopher of Verona, came to me from the Pope, and bade me have a good heart and hope well of him, and I should soon have my liberty. I asked him in how long time it might be expected? Nay (says he frankly, in the hearing of every one), not so very soon neither, lest the Pope should be charged with levity and cruelty for having with so much noise taken and tortured so many men, and then letting them go immediately as innocent. But Paul left not the matter so, but altering his mind upon a running report, accuses those now of heresy whom he had before charged with plotting of treason. Pomponio was at this time brought from Venice, like another Jugurtha, in bonds to be tried, a downright honest man, and guilty neither of the plot nor any other ill thing. Being examined why he changed the names of the men he wrote to, he answered boldly, as his humour was, that it did not concern either his judges or the Pope under what name he pleased to go, so that he had no naughty end in it; for that out of respect to antiquity he was wont to make use of many ancient names, as spurs to egg on the modern youth to a virtuous emulation.

Lucillus also, who led a very reserved life in the country near Rome, was fetched up before them for treason, because in a letter of his to Campanus, which they had intercepted, he had fallen foul upon somebody, under the name of Heliogabalus, for his love tricks, but with such concealed expressions, that no one who was not conscious would take it to himself. Our diligent pastor, Vianesius, frequently visiting us with tortures, and having tormented Petreius, the companion of Callimaco (whom they had taken endeavouring to make his escape, and he confessing nothing, but saying that the drunken talk of Callimaco was not to be regarded), casting his eyes about as if he feared we should have got wings like Dædalus, and fled out of our prison, he projected the making a dungeon for us, and set workmen about it. When it was finished, he put into it Francisco Anguillara, Gattalusco, Francisco Alviano, and Giaiomo Ptolemeo, who had already pined away four years in prison. But not a word yet could we hear of our freedom. At this time the emperor came to Rome (according to a vow he had made) with a splendid attendance, whom Paul entertained with great magnificence, at the expense of eighteen thousand ducats. I saw them from the castle returning under the same canopy from the Lateran with a noble retinue; and Paul stood still upon the bridge, while the emperor made several knights. The emperor departing, and Paul, by having quartered the greatest part of his forces, both horse and foot, in the city, being rid of the fear he had lest the people should have raised tumults upon him when the emperor was there, after we had lain ten months in jail, he comes to the castle himself, and that it might seem that he made so great ado not without cause, he charged us with many things, but especially that we had disputed concerning the immortality of the soul, and that we held the opinion of Plato, which St Augustine says is very like to the Christian faith. It is with good reason (says the saint) that Cicero makes Plato a god among the philosophers, who certainly outwent them all for wit and understanding; and with him, therefore, I chose to dispute, because he reasons concerning the last end of man and the Divine nature better than any of the rest. But, says Paul, by disputing you called the being of a God into question. Now this was no more than may be objected to all, both divines and philosophers, of our times, who for discourse sake, and that the truth may appear, do frequently make a question of the beings of

souls and of God, and of all separate intelligences. Besides, as St Austin says, those are heretics who defend with earnestness any false opinion they have taken up. We never declined sound discipline, which (as Leo says) is wont to be done by the ringleaders of error, who are deservedly called heretics, according to St Jerome, for maintaining opinions in opposition to the Church. I could give you an account of my life from my youth till this time, ever since I came to years of understanding. No ill action can be charged upon me, no theft, no pilfering, no sacrilege, no cheat upon the public, no murder, no rapine, nor simony. I have lived like a Christian, confessed and received the communion at least once a year. Nothing ever fell from my mouth against the faith or relishing of heresy. I followed neither simoniacs, the Carpocratiani, Ophilæ, Severiani, Alogii, Paulini, Manichees, Macedoniani, nor any other heretical faction. But beside, Paul accused us as too great admirers of pagan antiquities, of which no man could be more fond than himself, for he procured all the statues of the ancients that he could throughout the city, and placed them in his house, which he had built near the Campidoglio, among the rest, he took away a porphyry tomb of St Constantia out of the Church of St Agnes, maugre the denial of the monks of the place, who yet, after Paul's death, got it again of Pope Sixtus Beside, after the old heathen way, he coined an infinite number of medals with his own image, of gold, silver, and brass, and laid them in the foundations of his house, herein imitating rather the ancient Paynims than St Peter, Anacletus, or Linus. Upon a debate of our matter before the court bishops and two friars, one a Franciscan, the other a Dominican, they agreed all that nothing could be charged upon us that favoured of heresy. But Paul coming to the castle, and having on purpose excluded Francisco, who favoured us, that so Leonardo, our accuser, might speak the more freely, he repeated what he had said the day but one before, and then asked the opinion of those that were present, who, though they spoke somewhat to please the Pope, yet they made a light business of it, and endeavoured to persuade him into a milder temper. Amongst them all Lelio del Val, a citizen of Rome and an advocate in the Consistory, defended our cause very generously. He confuted all that Leonardo had said and what the other advocate had asserted; but as they

were arguing, mention chanced to be made of the academy, which was no sooner said but M. Barbo, Cardinal of St Mark, cries out that we were not academics, but a scandal to the name. Now, I cannot think how we should bring any reproach to it at all; we were neither thieves, nor pilferers, nor incendiaries, nor prodigal fools; we were sectators of the old academy, despising the new as establishing nothing certain upon which science might be built; but Paul would not have the academy so mentioned, under pain of being pronounced heretical, which was a reflection upon good old Plato, and let him look to it. Paul loved in every kind of learning to be thought an acute and skilful man; he desired too to go for a facetious person, so that he derided and contemned almost all men. He, after a scornful manner, asked Pomponio what was the name his parents gave him? who answered he was binominous (*i.e.*, had two names), which Paul not understanding, persisted to ask his name still. At last turning to me, he fell into a rage to such a degree that, beside charging me with the plot, heresy, and treason, of which I had cleared myself; he upbraided me too with ingratitude against so kind a friend as he had been to me. If it be a kindness for a man to be turned out of that which he has bought with his money without telling any reason, if to be imprisoned, tormented, disgraced, and slandered, be a kindness, then Paul was my special bountiful friend, and I was very ungrateful, who, unmindful of such courtesies, did not depart the city in obedience to his command, when I had been so often deceived by his promises. He went away threatening us and kept us in prison a whole year, as I believe he had sworn he would, when he took us first and clapped us up; and he was not willing to seem forsworn. At length, however, we were enlarged so far as to have the liberty of his own house, but not to stir a foot out of it; and soon after we had the freedom of the Vatican, and in the end, being wearied with the intercessions of the cardinals, he set us free. Not long after I was sent for by Lewis Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, to the baths, in order to cure my right arms which had contracted a great indisposition during my imprisonment; which Paul forbade me at first to do, promising to do great things for me in a little time; but I went and returned, Cardinal Bessarion, a person of great wit and learning, being security for my coming back. Paul commended me that I was as

good as my word, and would often boast what a kindness he had for me, and what great things he would do for me as soon as Borsius d'Este was gone, who, coming to the city with a great equipage, was very magnificently and splendidly received by him. The same he had often promised to the ambassadors of Venice and Milan, who had spoken on my behalf. For two years I was led on or rather beguiled with these hopes, till at length I resolved to go with the Cardinal of Mantua to Bononia, of which he was legate. But Paul forbade me, and (after his jesting manner) said I had wit enough already, and wanted wealth rather than learning. And now while I was in expectation that I should be relieved after so many troubles and afflictions, behold the Pope dies of an apoplexy about two hours within night, being alone in his chamber, having been well that day and held a Consistory. His death happened July 28, 1471, in the sixth year and tenth month of his pontificate. As to his personage, it was majestic and becoming a Pope, for he was so portly and tall that he was easily distinguishable from the rest when at mass. In his dress, though he was not curious, yet he was not reputed negligent. Nay, it is said that when he was to appear in public, he would use to paint his face. In his pontifical vestments, he outwent all his predecessors, especially in his regno or mitre, upon which he laid out a great deal of money in purchasing at vast rates diamonds, sapphires, emeralds, chrysoliths, jaspers, unions, and all manner of precious stones, wherewith adorned like another Aaron he would appear abroad somewhat more august than a man, delighting to be seen and admired by every one. To this purpose, sometimes by deferring some usual solemnities he would keep strangers in town, that so he might be viewed by greater numbers. But lest he alone should seem to differ from the rest, he made a decree that none but cardinals should, under a penalty, wear red caps; to whom he had in the first year of his popedom given cloth of that colour, to make horse-cloths or mule-cloths of when they rode. He was also about to order that Cardinals' caps should be of silk scarlet, but some persons hindered it by telling him well, that the ecclesiastical pomp was rather to be diminished than increased to the detriment of the Christian religion. Before he was made Pope, he used to give out that if ever he came to that good fortune, he would give each cardinal a castle in the country where they might retire conveniently to avoid the

summer heats of the city: but when he was once got into the chair he thought of nothing less. However, he endeavoured by his authority and by force too, to augment the power of the papacy: for he sent the Bishop of Tricarico into France to hear the cause of quarrel between the Duke of Burgundy and the people of Liege, and upon their reconciliation, to take off the interdict laid upon the Liegeois for wrongfully expelling their bishop; but while the legate took great pains to subject all matters to the Pope's judgment, he and their bishop too were clapped up by the Liegeois. Hereupon the Duke of Burgundy makes peace with the French king (with whom he was before at war), and with his aid gives those of Liege several great defeats and at length sacks their city and sets free the imprisoned bishops. Moreover, Paul, hearing of the apostacy of the King of Bohemia, he by his legate, Lorenzo Roverella, Bishop of Ferrara, raised the Hungarians and Germans upon him, so that he had certainly cut off both the King George Podiebrand and his progeny, and utterly rooted out the heretics, had not the Polanders, who laid claim to that kingdom, held Matthias, King of Hungary, employed in war, lest he should have made himself master of it. He undertook two wars of no great moment in Italy, which being not openly declared, but begun by pickeering parties, he afterwards abandoned. For first he attempted the seizing the seigniory of Tolfa by cunning wiles, which failing with open force, under the conduct of Vianesius, he set upon it and besieged it; but the king's army (in which the Orsini served) returning from the war they had now ended with Bartholomew of Bergamo, on a sudden he raised the siege in great disorder, though the enemy was not within sixty miles of the place; so that after a long contention, in which he had extremely disobliged and almost enraged the Orsini against him, he was fain to purchase Tolfa for seventeen thousand ducats of gold, for fear of that potent family, who were related to the lords of the place. After the same manner he set upon Robert Malatesta, son of Sigismund, when, having taken the suburbs of Rimini by a stratagem, and for sometime having besieged the city, Lorenzo, Archbishop of Spoleto, being the chief in the enterprise, Frederick, Duke of Urbino, came upon him with the king's forces and those of the Florentines, who forced him to raise his siege, and foiled his army shamefully, so that he accepted of a peace upon very dishonourable terms.

Lorenzo charged the reason of the loss of Rimini upon the niggardliness of his pay to the soldiers; and to the great slowness of his resolution, while, through ignorance in affairs of that nature, he deliberated long about actions which should be done in a moment. Paul was indeed so awkward at business, that, except he were driven to it, he would not enter upon any affair however plain and unencumbered, nor when begun would he bring it to perfection. This humour of his, he was wont to boast, had done him great service in many concerns, whereas (to speak truth) it had been very mischievous both to himself and the Church of Rome. He yet was very diligent in getting money, so that he generally intrusted the disposal of bishoprics and benefices to such courtiers, whose places being saleable, nothing could be bestowed without a present. All offices, indeed, in his time were set to sale, whereby it came to pass that he who had a mind to a bishopric or benefice, would purchase of him at a good rate some other office, and so get what he would have, in spite of any other candidates, who could pretend upon the score of either learning or good life to be capable of whatsoever honour or preferment. Beside, when bishoprics were vacant, he would remove the more worthy (as he called them) to the more wealthy seat, by these translations raising vast sums of money, because more annates became due at the same time He also allowed the purchasing of salaries. With these moneys he would sometimes be very liberal, giving exhibitions to the poorer cardinals and bishops, and to princes or noblemen that were driven out of their country, and relieving poor maidens, widows, and sick people. He took great care, too, that corn and all manner of victuals should be afforded cheaper at Rome than formerly. He was at the charge of several magnificent buildings near St Mark's and in the Vatican. An instance of his munificence was the hunting which with great charge he caused to be represented in the Campo di Merula for the entertainment of the Duke of Ferrara: the management of which was committed to his nephew by his sister, whom he had made Cardinal of St Lucia, and at the same time conferred the like honour of a cardinal on Baptista Zeno, his other nephew It was a hard thing to gain access to him, considering that he would sleep in the daytime, and be awake in the night looking over his jewels and precious stones; and if after long waiting you came into his presence,

you might hear him indeed, but yourself could not be heard; he was so very talkative. He was morose and peevish as well to his courtiers as strangers, and would often alter his mind from what he had promised He had a great mind to be thought a politic man, and would therefore give very ambiguous answers; so that he continued not long his friendships with any princes or commonwealths, himself having several different interests. He loved to have great variety of dishes at his table, and generally ate of the worst; but would be clamorous if what he used to like were not provided. He drank often, but his wine was small and diluted with water. He loved melons, crabs, sweetmeats, fish, and bacon, which odd kind of diet, I believe, caused the apoplexy of which he died; for the day before his death he had eaten two very large melons. He was reputed a just and yet a merciful man; endeavouring to amend even thieves, murderers, traitors, and perjured villains, by tedious imprisonment. But he was a great enemy and despiser of human learning, branding those for heretics that gave their minds to it: and dissuading the people of Rome from putting their children to be brought up to it, telling them that it was enough if they had learned to write and read. He was known to be ill-conditioned and inexorable to petitioners, not only denying, but reproaching and abusing them; but yet he would make a show of doing less than he would do. Lastly, one thing he was highly to be commended for, that he kept no ill men about him, but contained his family and all his domestics in their due bounds; that their pride and insolence might not procure him the hate of the great men and people of Rome.

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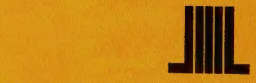
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